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Title of Thesis – Titre de la thèse

First Existence Folk Dance Forms Among Ukrainians in Smoky Lake, Alberta and Swan Plain, Saskatchewan

Degree for which thesis was presented Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée	Year this degree conferred Année d'obtention de ce grade
M.A.	1985
University – Université	**Name of Supervisor – Nom du directeur de thèse**
University of Alberta	Dr. B. Medwidsky

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FIRST EXISTENCE FOLK DANCE FORMS AMONG UKRAINIANS IN SMOKY LAKE, ALBERTA AND SWAN PLAIN, SASKATCHEWAN

BY

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1985

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B. Nahachewsky
Supervisor

Peter C. Rollins

Robert G. Stanford

A. Kornjatkevyč

Date: Sept. 6, 1995

To Kim,

and to all whose dance this is.

ABSTRACT

The culture of immigrants to Canada and their descendents is characterized by features which illustrate continuity with their area of origin as well of their destination. The object of this study is to identify those aspects in the social dance repertoires of Ukrainians in Western Canada. The settlements of Smoky Lake, Alberta and Swan Plain, Saskatchewan serve as sample communities for the investigation. Interviewed informants identified up to fifty dance forms in their repertoires since settlement in these two areas. Thirty four of these were dances known in Ukrainian territories and transplanted to Canada. The remainder were learned after their arrival here. The dance forms included circle dances, men's dances, trio dances, quadrille-type dances, couple dances, partner-changing dances, modern dances, and others. A very powerful trend towards mixed couple dances is evident, tending to the exclusion of almost all other forms. This trend is noticeable in the past eighty years and prior to that in Europe as well.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this would have been impossible without the help and support of my wife, Kim. She tolerated my schedules and sacrificed a great deal of her own time and energies to free mine for this work. She imputted, processed, and edited the text. Thanks also to Prof. B. Medwidsky for his great foresight and enlightened guidance. Victor Mishalow made available a copy of the manuscript of Harasymchuk's dissertation. All of the informants must also be acknowledged for their time and cooperation. Thanks also to the Department of Slavic and East European Studies and to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies for financial support.

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SYMBOLS AND NOTATIONS

A revised Library of Congress transliteration system is used for rendering Ukrainian text.

а - a	і - i	т - t
б - b	ї - i	у - u
в - v	й - i	ф - f
г - h	к - k	х - kh
ґ - g	л - l	ц - ts
д - d	м - m	ч - ch
е - e	н - n	ш - sh
є - ie	о - o	щ - shch
ж - zh	п - p	ю - iu
з - z	р - r	я - ia
и - y	с - s	ь - '

Dialectal forms are retained when encountered in the speech of informants or in ethnographic texts. Ukrainianized words are spelled as if transliterated from the informant's pronunciation, thus "chardash" is used rather than the Hungarian "csárdás," and "shnel' pol'ka" rather than the German "Schnell-Polka." Likewise, "Halychyna"

and "Halychany" are used rather than "Galicia" and "Galicians." An exception is made for the words "polka" and "waltz" when referring to these well known generic dances. This common English spelling is used rather than "pol'ka" and "valets'" respectively.

Roman Harasymchuk and Andrii Humeniuk produced relevant works in Ukrainian as well as in Polish and Russian. Their names are spelled consistently throughout this study rather than changing occasionally to "Roman Harasymczuk" or "Andrei Gumeniuk."

Translations from the Ukrainian original are not artistic in quality, but serve only to provide a literal notion of the subject matter. Much of the sense of the songs and their nuances, along with their rhythms and rhyme, are lost in the English versions.

Where the melodies are transcribed from recorded interviews, the transcriptions are imperfect. They can serve only to illustrate the major characteristics of the respective melodies and rhythms. Those interested in specific details should consult the original tapes.

INTRODUCTION

Folk dance, in general, is a very popular pursuit in North America. The multitude of activities which can be included within the concept "folk dance" are extremely diverse.[1] In fact, no consensus as to the definition of folk dance has been reached among practitioners or among scholars of dance.[2] Felix Hoerburger and Joann Wheeler Kealiinohomoku, in dealing with the issue, stress that the definition of "folk dance" is difficult or impossible to arrive at unless one considers the definition between "first existence" folk dance, and folk dance in its "second existence"; "between original tradition on the one hand, and revival or even arrangement on the other. . ."[3]

Hoerburger tried to isolate the characteristics of dances in their "first existence." He suggested that such dance is an integral part of the life of a community. It is changeable and improvised within a specified framework, and it is learned in a natural and functional way. The dancer learns the style and feeling of the dance first, often right from infancy. Later, he may consciously or unconsciously imitate the individual dance elements. By contrast, folk dance in its "second existence" is no longer the property of the whole community, but only of a few interested participants. The figures and movements have been fixed, and the dancer is specifically taught the steps. Only after he masters the steps does the dancer begin to learn the correct dancing

style.[4] It is understood that certain types of folk dance exist primarily in their first existence, such as the hunting dance of a remote jungle tribe. Others exist largely in their second existence, such as the case in the popular revival of English Morris dancing. Still other genres of folk dance may be found in both existences. Square dancing, for example, is enjoyed in its natural context in the rural American Mid-West, but is also taught as a folk dance in recreational dance clubs of New York.

Ukrainian dance in North America and Europe is certainly most prominent and visible in its second existence. A very dynamic and intricate stage form has developed on both continents in the twentieth century. It has become a very visible component of Canadian culture, where it is a staple of muticultural concerts and gala performances across the country. An estimated ten thousand people are actively involved in stage Ukrainian dance groups from Port Alberni on Vancouver Island to Sydney, Nova Scotia.[5] It is this activity which has captured the attention of great audiences as well as most of the scholarly interest in the field. The subject addressed in this study, however, is specifically Ukrainian folk dance in its first existence.

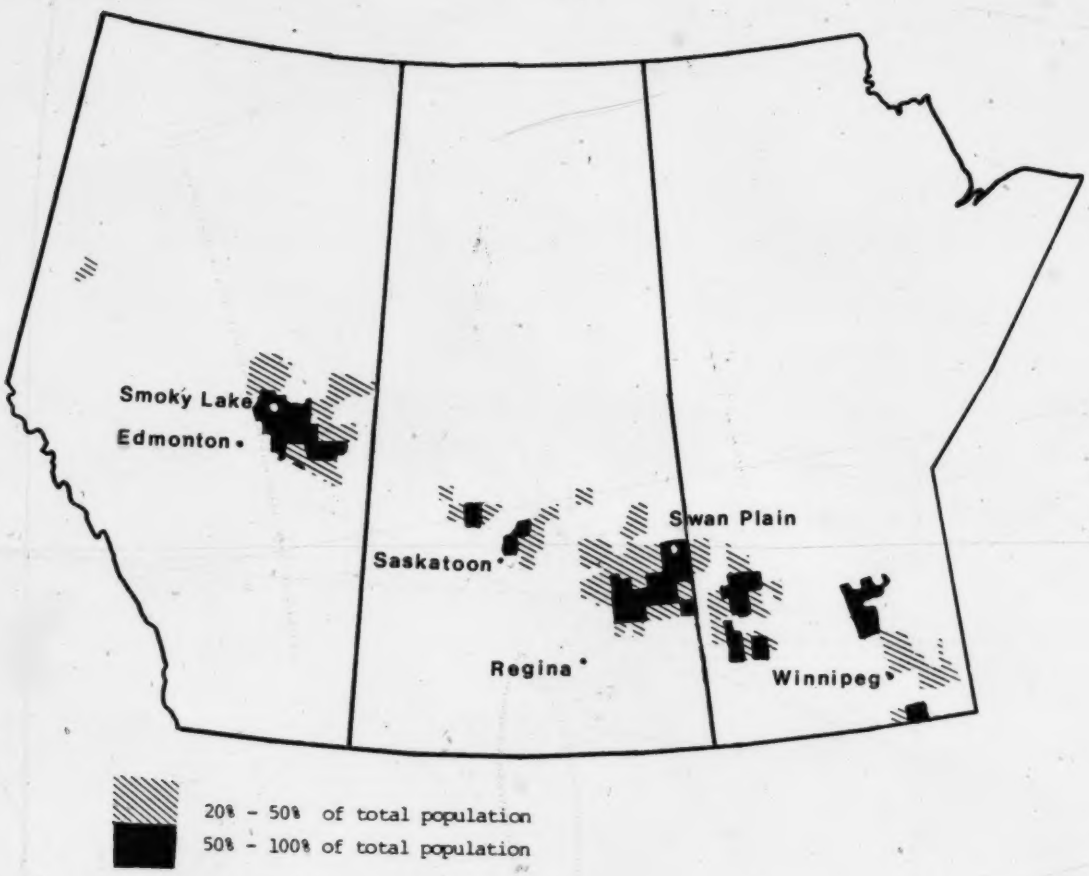
First existence Ukrainian dance did exist and to a degree continues to exist especially in more conservative rural settlements on the Canadian prairies with large Ukrainian populations. These dances were manifested in the social dance repertoires of the immigrant generation and their descendants.

Approximately 170,000 Ukrainian settlers emigrated to Canada in the period from 1895 to the beginning of World War I.[6] They arrived from Halychyna (Galicia) and Bukovyna, which were then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Most of these peasants claimed homesteads in Western Canada, settling in groups wherever possible.

Definite areas of Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada remain largely intact to this day. Swan Plain, Saskatchewan is located 20 kilometers (km.) from the Manitoba border and 75 km. north of the city of Yorkton. This area was populated largely by immigrants from Halychyna. Smoky Lake, Alberta is situated 100 km. northeast of Edmonton, and is still very heavily populated by people of Ukrainian descent. A very large percentage of these people are Bukovynian, and many of these trace their ancestry to the village of Toporivtsi and its surrounding area. The communities of Swan Plain and Smoky Lake were selected as the geographical focal points for this study. The choice of a predominantly Halychans'kyi community on the one hand and Bukovynian on the other were intended to broaden the range of dance forms and provide some grounds for comparison and contrast.

Suzanne Youngerman, in her methodological essay, stresses that folk dance research should ideally include four aspects of the phenomenon: (1) formal dance structure, (2) performance style, (3) social and cultural factors surrounding the event, and (4) the role and "meaning" of the dance in the culture.[7] This study can only deal with the first of these goals, a study of forms, but even that cannot be completed exhaustively. Elements such as performer variation and improvization can be dealt with only fleetingly. In spite of the

Map 1: The eastern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1900 showing the provinces of Galicia (Halychyna) and Bukovina (Bukovyna). Many settlers of Smoky Lake had emigrated from Toporivtsi in Bukovyna. Early settlers to Swan Plain had come from Borshchiv but also from other villages and towns in the Ukrainian areas of Halychyna.



Map 2: Map of the Canadian prairie provinces, showing the distribution of Ukrainian rural population (1971) and the locations of Swan Plain and Smoky Lake. (Adapted from a map compiled by Ivan Tesla in Frances Swyripa, "Canada," Encyclopedia of Ukraine, vol. 1, edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyč (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), after p. 346.)

limited scope of this study, the author has attempted to remain sensitive to the other objectives of dance research throughout. This is particularly true in the discussions of contexts in the second chapter.

The most important sources of primary data for this project have been several series of recorded interviews with Ukrainian immigrants to Canada and their descendants. The dances were described as extensively as possible, and in many instances, were demonstrated, sung, and/or played by the informants. The contexts of the dances were also discussed during the interviews in order to establish a time frame and sequence of change. This primary material was compared with sources of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian dance for confirmation and elaboration.

Publications and other secondary sources for this study are discussed in Chapter I. The three major related fields surveyed are Ukrainian Canadian ethnography, Ukrainian ethnography relating to dance, and the international folk dance movement.

In Chapter II of this study, the dance events and dance contexts in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake are investigated. These contexts included ritual and non-ritual events. The different types of social gatherings at any given time were characterized by a different dance repertoire. Both contexts and dance forms changed with time.

The dance forms themselves are described in Chapters III, IV, and V. Dances which were known by the immigrants prior to their arrival in Canada are dealt with in the first two of these chapters. Circle dances, mens' dances, trio dances, and quadrille-type dances are dealt with in Chapter III. Mixed couple dances and partner-changing dances

are described in Chapter IV. These dance forms and their incidence constitute the major subject matter of the study. Newer dances learned in Canada are dealt with briefly in Chapter V. They are categorized as circle dances, quadrille-type dances, couple dances, partner-changing and specialty dances. Several problems were encountered in classifying the dances. A few forms including the butterfly, heel-and-toe polka, hora, chardash, hopping polka, and sheepskin were not sufficiently documented to determine definitely whether they were known by the immigrants before immigration, whether they were learned from other people in Canada, or both. These dances have been included in Chapters III and IV. A second problem was also encountered in classifying some of the dances. The kolomyika and the hutsulka were originally circle dances but were sometimes danced in groups of only two. In this thesis, they are classified as circle dances. The kozak and kozachok also posed a problem since both names were used to designate a dance for two men, a mixed couple dance and sometimes a dance by several couples. Because of their historical origins, "kozak" is used in this study to designate the mens' dance, and "kozachok" is used to identify the mixed couple dance.

The general characteristics and major trends evident in the evolution of the dance repertoires of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain are identified in the conclusion.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Joann Wheeler Kealiinohomoku, "Folk Dance," in Folklore and Folklife, edited by Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 391-97.

2. Ibid., pp. 381-88, and Felix Hoerburger, "Once Again: On the Concept of 'Folk Dance,'" Journal of the International Folk Music Council, vol. 20 (1968), p. 30.

3. Felix Hoerburger, "Folk Dance Survey," Journal of the International Folk Music Council, vol. 17 (1965), p. 7.

4. Hoerburger, "Once Again," pp. 30-31.

5. Roman Petryshyn, "Ukrainian Dancing in Canada in the Last Fifteen Years," an address read to the Sasktanets' conference of Ukrainian dance groups in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, March 24, 1984.

6. Vladimir J. Kaye and Frances Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization," in Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, edited by Manoly Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 32.

7. Suzanne Youngerman, "Method and Theory in Dance Research: An Anthropological Approach," Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council, vol. 7 (1975), p. 117.

CHAPTER I: THE SCHOLARLY BACKGROUND

The field of ethnographic (ie. first existence) Ukrainian Canadian dance has not been directly studied as of yet, though the subject is touched upon in a number of related fields. At least three such related fields of activity contribute significantly to the subject at hand. Ukrainian Canadian dance and Ukrainian Canadian ethnography comprise the first related subject area. Dance and ethnography of Ukraine itself make up the second relevant subject. The third field is that of social dance and folk dance in the international forum (both first and second existence). Dances of neighbouring and other relevant nationalities are studied within this third category. Each of these shall be considered in turn.

A. Ukrainian Canadian Dance and Ethnography

Little scholarly work has been done to date on Ukrainian Canadian dance, and less yet on this dance in its first existence. Alexandra Pritz wrote her master's thesis, entitled "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada," and dedicated 54 pages to the subject of Ukrainian dance. Less than a page and a half, however, deals with dance in its first existence.[1] Pritz quotes two articles from the

publication Ukrainian Folk Dance: A Symposium (hereinafter Symposium).[2] In the first of these articles, American folk dance specialist Richard Crum discusses the function of a dance such as the kolomyika in its first existence in a Ukrainian village in contrast to the stage performances danced today in North American cities. He mentions first existence dance as transported to the New World:

> In the old days, after the first large waves of immigration, where the old country ways were still preserved in isolated Ukrainian communities, the picture was pretty much the same as in our Hucul village. Old-time immigrants from the Ukraine give plenty of testimony to this.
> . . . Rarely, and only in remote isolated Canadian-Ukrainian communities does one come across Ukrainian dance being done in an atmosphere similar to that of the Hucul village.[3]

Crum later concentrates on developments in the Soviet Union and problems of stage choreography.

The second Symposium article, by Mary Ann Herman, is most valuable for the present study because she actually describes the social dances of her youth in a Ukrainian community hall in New York.

> Ukrainian folk dancing as I remember it from about 1916 to 1929, as a child, was done in a very informal manner at the Ukrainian affairs I attended. Children and adults mixed on the floor with no one caring too much about the kids getting in the way. The music in the early years was usually provided by a three piece orchestra consisting of a violinist, a cymbalist, and a man who played the 'resheto', a sort of tambourine with a handle on it; he alternatingly rubbed his thumb along the skin of the tambourine or shook it in rhythm. Sometimes a bass would be there too. In later years, this combination was expanded into full orchestras to include clarinets, trumpets and drums. Still later two orchestras were there, one to play Ukrainian dance music, the other 'American' music. The latter was a concession to the growing American-born Ukrainians. Oddly enough, the floor was always

full for the Ukrainian numbers and half filled for the American.

The Ukrainian dances would be done mostly to Kolomyika tunes or occasionally to the Hopak tune that we all know. A big circle would form, with no partners and whoever wanted to would go in the middle and improvise in the center. The big circle moved left or right with a basic step. Sometimes if the middle dancers were extremely good the circle would stop and dancers would clap in place and call encouragingly to the dancers in the center of the circle. The center dancers could be a solo dancer, a couple or a threesome.

I remember very vividly some very elderly ladies, notably a Mrs. Wasylyshyn, who was extremely able in folk dancing and would wear out the musicians even though she was in her seventies and later in her eighties. She knew many dance figures and would try to manoeuvre guests around into them, but they had either forgotten them or were reluctant to follow her, or even lacked the energy she had. She knew so many Kolomyika verses and I am afraid a lot of them were truly salacious - she was an earthy person. It was from her that I first heard that old Ukrainian saying used by dancers to musicians: "Hrayte, abo hroshi viddayte" (play or return the money). She really outdanced them!

In between these dances we also did dances such as the Korobushka, Karapyet (Russian Two-Step), Kohanochka and Polka Koketka, the last one being done many a time during a party as it was one of the more popular dances. The Korobushka, unlike its modern 'American' counterpart, was done in long lines, WITHOUT twirls, or claps, or 'prysyadky', and there was lots of communication between the opposite sexes as they danced.[4]

Robert Klymasz, who had edited the 1961 Symposium, wrote a chapter "The Fine Arts" in the Ukrainian Canadian historical and cultural survey A Heritage in Transition. Klymasz deals with dance in two pages, and touches briefly upon the subject of dance in its first existence.

In its original or natural form the Ukrainian folk dance can still be seen on rare occasions in rural areas of Western Canada where dances like holub, mazurka, and kolomyika are performed at weddings and parties. Remembered mainly by the old, most will disappear altogether unless proper field and documentation studies are undertaken. The rich source of primary material has unfortunately been overshadowed by the more stagey, choreographed dance sequences introduced by the famed Vasyl' Avramenko the leading figure in Ukrainian dance in North America for over a quarter century.[5]

This famed Vasyl' Avramenko was a dramatist and dance teacher who emigrated to Canada in 1925. A patriotic Ukrainian and an energetic enterpreneur, Avramenko swept the country in eighteen months and performed approximately 120 concerts across Canada in that time. He taught his prepared stage dances to literally thousands of students.[6] Avramenko published ten of his dances in Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky in 1928, and expanded this publication to eighteen dances in his second edition in 1947.[7] This dance material functioned primarily in its second existence. The dances were taught consciously to the students as elements of the national culture. Though based on first existence forms, the dances were modified and made more complex for theatrical purposes. Avramenko was rightfully named the father of Ukrainian dance in Canada. His work had profound and lasting influence on staged Ukrainian dance activity in Canada. His biography and contributions have been documented in a number of publications and articles.[8]

In his doctoral dissertation Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition, Klymasz established a framework for dealing with Ukrainian folklore in the Canadian context. The processes of retention, breakdown, and reconstruction are found to be characteristic in the folklore complex. Klymasz does not deal directly with dance, though he does speak of Ukrainian weddings.[9] The collection of field materials gathered by Klymasz includes recordings of dance songs.[10] In his published bibliography of Ukrainian Canadian folklore materials, Klymasz lists fourteen publications dealing with dance.[11] Aside from the above mentioned Symposium, only one of the listed entries deals with first existence dance in Canada.

William Paluk focuses on dance in a short chapter in his Canadian Cossacks. [12]

Works dealing with broader topics of Ukrainian Canadian ethnography sometimes contain references to dance. A collection of Ukrainian Canadian dialectological and folkloric texts is published in four volumes by J. B. Rudnyc'kyj. Dance related materials include a short description of a wedding as well as verses for kolomyiky, hahilky, polkas, and other dances.[13]

Other publications such as histories of Ukrainian settlement in Canada and memoirs of individual writers occasionally and incidentally provide some information on dance. The majority of these references to dance, however, are indirect and contextual. Very rarely do the descriptions include the actual forms of the dances. Ukrainian Canadian social histories, too, provide contextual information and incidental descriptions of dances in a given historical period.

> Dancing . . . had been an uncomplicated affair. After church on Sundays, the young unmarried people would collect in an open space, someone would bring a violin and a zither, and everyone would jump and whirl around in the very basic steps of the polka and reel - there would always be some young man showing off with exaggerated kicks and leaps - that didn't take much practice or ingenuity to learn. For special occasions, more ceremonial dances would be performed by those who knew how to do them properly: dances illustrating the gathering of the harvest, flirtation and courtship, the exultation of the shepherd and the sword dances, Cossack boasts.
>
> It wasn't until after the arrival of the dancing experts, like Vasily Avramenko, in the form of immigrant intellectuals after the First World War that Ukrainian-Canadians were exposed to dance as an "art." At this point, Ukrainian dancing became the project of the choreographers and ballet masters schooled in European cities and the mass of Ukrainian-Canadians took up the fox-trot. Now they had to be taught how to dance like a Ukrainian, an exercise reserved for special events. "My generation danced too, but only at Christmas concerts. The grade three teacher taught us."[14]

This passage illustrates the interest in dance, but also demonstrates potential problems inherent in sweeping characterizations. The author attempts to characterize the social dance forms as simple and informal, contrasting them with later second existence dances taught by the instructors. This point is valid, however she overemphasizes the differences to the point that she almost spurns the formal characteristics of the mens' dance movements. She also makes several outright mistakes in her descriptions. The reel was not commonly performed by Ukrainian Canadian immigrants prior to Avramenko's arrival, nor were dances illustrating the gathering of the harvest or exulting shepherds. Sword dances, too, were extremely uncharacteristic of first existence dance in Canada (in fact it was Avramenko himself who brought the first sword dance into Canada - zaporozhets' herts' - a second existence dance). The author is correct in suggesting that the fox-trot was popular in the period around 1925. It shall be shown below, however, that at least in some areas, social dances of Ukrainian origin continued to be popular then and for a long time after that.

Local histories have been published by many rural communities in recent years. These provide another indirect, yet valuable source of information on dance activity in their respective areas. The common format for these publications includes an historical description of the area and a great number of short biographies of the people who lived and live there. These books also often include specific reports on recreation in various periods, churches, community structures, organizations and other relevant topics. A history of a community hall, for example, may include such information as the admission fee

for dances in a given year or the number and occasions of the dances in that period. Biographies of musicians and descriptions of weddings often contain the most valuable passages. These publications are, in most cases, quite extensively illustrated.[15]

Sound recordings preserved on phonograph records also provide valuable information on the types of dances popular at the time of their recording. Selections recorded by Ukrainian Canadian bands as early as the 1920s may be found on 78 rpm recordings, however recent records are much more common. In many instances, the music can be associated specifically with a particular dance, and therefore can provide documentation of the melody, arrangement, style, tempo and flavor of the dance in the given period.[16]

Visual materials include photographs in archives as well as in personal collections. Plate 2, a 1902 photograph of a Ukrainian wedding in Alberta serves as an example.[17] The majority of historical photographs of dancers, however, depict costumed stage dancing. Wedding pictures became relatively common by the 1920s. These often show the bridal party as well as musicians and the physical environment of the celebration. Rarely do they include the actual dances in progress.

At least two paintings by the late William Kurelek are relevant to this study. Polish Wedding at Kaszuby is illustrated in Plate 4. Though the painting depicts a Polish wedding, the dance platform, musical instruments and general atmosphere in the farmyard were typical of Ukrainian weddings as well.[18] A second painting, entitled The Barn Dance, Plate 5, illustrates this typical setting of a later period.[19]

B. Ukrainian Dance and Ethnography

The second major field of study relevant to this project is that of dance and ethnography in Ukraine itself. Studies of first existence dance on Ukrainian ethnic territory have been reviewed by Roman Harasymchuk[20] and Andrii Humeniuk.[21]

The first serious attempt to document dances and music in this territory was made by the renowned Polish ethnographer Oskar Kolberg in the third volume of Pokucie [The Pokuttia Region]. Pokuttia is one territory studied in Kolberg's monumental series Lud, jego zwyczaje, sposób życia.[22] Pokuttia is an area west of Bukovyna, one from which people emigrated to Western Canada at the turn of the century. In Pokucie, Kolberg describes several dance forms in relative detail, especially the popular kolomyika forms. He also records dance melodies and song texts.

Volodymyr Shukhevych describes dances, steps and dance music of the Hutsul area in his Hutsul'shchyna, part 3.[23] The Hutsul area was adjacent to Pokuttia and was, in part, included in the Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia.

Western Ukrainian folk dance, specifically that of the Hutsul region, was most seriously studied by Roman Harasymchuk in his Tańce huculskie (1939). Published in Polish, the work incorporates the results of extensive fieldwork. His 1930-32 excursions into the Hutsul countryside were supplemented by more such fieldwork in 1950-52, by which time the Hutsul area had been incorporated into the Soviet Ukraine. Harasymchuk enlarged and reworked the earlier study as a

candidate's dissertation in 1956 entitled "Rozvytok narodnoho khoreohrafichnoho mystetstva radians'koho Prykarpattia." After dealing with the various dance contexts, he carefully describes each dance form and its local variants. He then deals more generally with structural and lexical evolution as well as musical characteristics of the dance repertoire of that area. Dances and variants are notated using Harasymchuk's own system of algebra-like symbols. A partial copy of the dissertation manuscript was available for use in this present study. Because of the scholarly style, extensive detail, and historical commentary, this document served as a very valuable source for comparison with the dance forms in Western Canada.

One of the earliest studies of Ukrainian dance in Central and Eastern Ukraine was Teoriia ukrains'koho narodnoho tanka by Vasyl' Verkhovynets'.[24] Verkhovynets' was a leading ethnomusicologist and the most important folk dance scholar in Ukraine in his time. He was also involved with dramatic theatre, into which folk dance had made great inroads. Verkhovynets', in fact, was briefly one of Avramenko's teachers. Verkhovynets' Teoriia included a classification and description of Ukrainian dance steps as well as notations of five dances and methodological recommendations for collecting dance materials and teaching Ukrainian dance. Verkhovynets' system of notating dances is still used in Soviet dance publications. This book can be considered the first systematic and theoretical survey of Ukrainian dance. Verkhovynets' also published Vesnianochka, a collection of children's dance games, many of which were folkloric in origin.[25]

Andrii Humeniuk wrote his candidate's dissertion "Tantsiuval'na muzyka ukrains'koho radians'koho narodu" on Ukrainian dance music in 1952. He later published Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo Ukrainy, his revised doctoral dissertation on the Ukrainian folk dance itself.[26] Originally a musicologist, Humeniuk discussed the metro-rhythmic characteristics of Ukrainian folk dance in detail. He also analyzed folk dance texts and established a classification system which divided the folk-choreographic material into three categories; khorovody (ritual-based dance songs), pobutovi tantsi ("lifestyle" dances), and siuzhetni tantsi (thematic dances). Humeniuk described the role of dance in the lifestyle of the people and discussed native and borrowed dance types individually.

Humeniuk's second major dance publication Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi included a classification and description of dance steps as well as notations for 140 actual dances, the majority of which were first existence forms.[27] He also published other works on folk dance forms,[28] on theory and methodology,[29] lexicon,[30] and on Ukrainian dance music.[31]

Other scholars include Kim Vasylenko, who wrote Leksyka ukrains'koho narodno-stsenichnoho tantsiu and "Zbahachennia khoreohrafichnoi leksyky" on the lexicon of Ukrainian dance.[32] In another publication, Zoloti zerna, Vasylenko described dance in the context of the calendar cycle. This last publication was presented in a popular rather than scholarly form.[33] Kas'ian Goleizovskii published Obrazy russkoi narodnoi khoreografii in 1964, dealing with the historical development, context and character of Russian folk dance. This study includes many references to East Slavs in general

and Ukrainian material in particular.[34] Oleksa Stepovyi published a brief survey of the subject in Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi in Germany after World War II.[35] Pavlo Macenko published an article on the folk song in relation to folk dance.[40] Ivan Senkiv included a chapter on dance in his ethnographic study of of the Hutsul region of Ukraine.[36]

Modern Soviet dancers, ethnographers and scholars point to the value of archival materials collected in ethnographic expeditions since the 1950s. At least two such expeditions headed by Andrii Humeniuk recorded over a hundred dances on film in 1955-56 and 1959.[38] Little of this material has appeared in publications, however, and it has not been readily accessible to students from the West.

Publications on first existence dance in Soviet Ukraine have been very infrequent since Humeniuk and Harasymchuk stopped working in the field. This stands in striking contrast to the great number of publications dealing with theatrical dance which have continued to appear.

Although they do not comprise an important component of the present study, khorovody (ritual-based dance-songs) are in many ways a component of dance per se. Early investigations of these dance-songs include Molodoshchi by Mykola Lysenko[39] and "Haivky" by Volodymyr Hnatiuk.[40] More recent works include Ihry ta pisni, edited by Oleksii Dei.[41]

Kolomyiky - short dance verses - were published in Volodymyr Hnatiuk's monumental Kolomyiky.[42] and in other sources. Hnatiuk's publication alone included 3147 such verses. These verses were sung during the dances and often dealt with dance directly in the texts. The broader field of dance songs, including kolomyiky and others, were

investigated in Oleksii Dei's Tantsiuval'ni pisni and M. Marchenko's later publication of the same name.[43] Ukrainian folk songs and oral folklore in general have been well documented. Many publications of oral folklore include sections of dance songs.[44]

Dance materials can also be found in such publications as the two volume Vesillia, edited by M. M. Shubravs'ka[45] and in regional studies such as the recent Boikivshchyna.[46] Canadian publications of Ukrainian ethnography in Ukraine include a five volume work by Stepan Kylymnyk describing the folk traditions of the Ukrainian calendar cycle.[47] References to dance may be found in relation to the koza ("goat" masked ritual), vertep ("manger" nativity drama), and novyi rik (New Years) in the winter cycle, vesnianky (spring dance-songs), haivky (Easter dance-songs), vulytsia (street parties), and childrens' games in the spring cycle, rusalky (water nymphs), and kupalo (Midsummer's eve) associated with the summer cycle, as well as obzhynky (harvest rites) and vulytsia in the autumn cycle. Oleksa Voropai also published works on Ukrainian calendar cycle rituals and customs which included comparable references to dance.[48]

C. International Folk Dance

International folk dance in North America and Western Europe comprises another major field of endeavour which contributes to the present investigation. The term "international folk dance" is used here in a wide sense, and includes generally all activity in folk dance other than from the specifically Ukrainian perspective. (Naturally, studies of dance from Central and Eastern Europe, and sometimes studies

of North American dance are the most relevant to this study.) Work in this field has been motivated from either scholastic or from recreational/participatory perspectives. For this reason, publications can be categorized into two types; scholarly studies and popular guides.

A variety of more scholarly studies deal with first existence dance in North America and in other areas of the world. North American folk dance scholarship " . . has a long way to go before developing sophisticated and inclusive methods of studying folk dance,"[49] though many valuable studies have been undertaken, and some of these contribute directly to the subject at hand. A master's thesis by Elsie Ivancich Dunin compares the social dance activity in coastal Yugoslavia with that of Yugoslavian communities in California. The project is discussed in the article "Change in South Slav/American Dance."[50] Dunin's study appears to run quite parallel to the one proposed here. She does, however, enter more deeply into a discussion of the variations in movement relative to the differing social situations and spatial arrangements. She concludes that these dances did change in relation to their various new surroundings.

Scholarly activity in Europe has been more substantial. The English Folk Song and Dance Society organized an international conference in Dresden, England in 1949, and the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) was founded at that meeting. Since that time, this community of folk dance and folk music specialists have done much to develop the methodology of folk dance research, and to promote scholarship of participating German, Hungarian, Czech, Yugoslav, Rumanian, American, and other scientists.[51] The lack of specific

Ukrainian material in this international school of scholarship is noticeable.[52] Though scholars of other socialist countries participated in IFMC activities, it seems that the Soviets were involved minimally or not at all. Projects by the council's committee and by associated researchers are often reported in the Journal of the International Folk Music Council (1949-68) and the Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council (1969-). The council has done much to promote the use of the Laban system of kinetography (Labanotation) in folk dance study.[53]

Suzanne Youngerman contributed in the development of method and theory in dance research.[54] The "Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology" developed foundations for analysis of the structure and form of folk dance in the first half of the 1970s.[55] Significant methodological contributions have also been made by such scholars as Felix Hoerburger[56] and Roderyk Lange.[57]

Research of folk dance activity in certain individual countries and regions had developed much earlier than any international council and serious international studies. Dance materials of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Lithuania and other areas were collected relatively early, and were therefore better documented than those of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovakia, Ukraine and Russia.[58] The dances of this latter group were not well recorded until the staged forms developed in this century, and choreographers realized that the original forms themselves were disappearing. Following the lead of Zoltan Kodaly and Béla Bartók, Hungarian scholarship continued to be strong under such scholars as György Martin and Ernö Pesovar.[59] Ivan Ivančan and others have documented first existence dance in Yugoslavia.[60] Polish

studies have been conducted, as has been mentioned, since the times of Kolberg. Roderyk Lange stands out as an outstanding recent scholar of Polish dance.[61] German and Austrian studies include Die Volkstänze by Richard Wolfram.[62]

Folk dance teaching guides are commonly published to supply a repertoire for dance classes in physical education programs and for social and folk dance groups in North America. Literally hundreds of such guides have been published. A finite number of dances have been recorded, thereby becoming crystallized and transformed into folk dances in their second existence. Such teaching guides are concerned with offering a simple and fast description of the dances. This expediency is often attained at the expense of historical documentation and accuracy. These "cook book" publications, as Kealiinohomoku calls them, are in her eyes "far too subjective or simplistic to be of much value to scholars in other fields of folklife."[63] Insofar as these forms reflect the basic form of the original dance, they may still serve at least to identify the forms themselves and verify their existence. The dance strashok, for example, was remembered vaguely by informants in Smoky Lake. A published description of the Bohemian strašák found in a folk dance guide provided a reasonable assurance that the informant's uncertain suggestions were accurate in this case.[64] In some cases, the origins of a particular dance can be identified and its expansion into or out of Ukrainian territories can be documented. In other cases, the comparative material serves only to prove coexistence in the various areas.

Folk dance teaching guides rarely include Ukrainian dances, though the hopak,[65] kolomyika,[66] and other dances[67] are occasionally

found. The majority of these authors know relatively little about Eastern Europe, and the problem of identifying Ukrainian material is complicated by the common lack of distinction between Ukraine and Russia, and the common mistake of considering Ukrainian dances as a type of Russian dance.[68] Korobushka and troika are two dances commonly found in folk dance guides. They are almost always listed as Russian dances, however in at least one case each they are classified as Ukrainian (Russian) or Russian/Ukrainian.[69] (The korobushka was mentioned in the above quotation from Herman's article, and the troika shall be seen as a component of the verkhovyna/butterfly. It seems that these two dances were enjoyed in territories of both Russia and Ukraine.) Often a specifically Ukrainian dance is classified as Russian,[70] and sometimes it is not clear from the given material whether the dance description originated from Ukrainian or Russian sources.[71]

The general lack of interest and communication between the Ukrainian dance community and the communities of the international and recreational folk dance has been two sided, as illustrated by Kost Pankiwskyj in "Recreational Folk Dancing."[72] Pankiwskyj suggested that the two dance communities do not interact because the function and motivation of their activities are different. Generally speaking, the Ukrainian dance community engages in its activity because it is Ukrainian. The international folk dance community, by contrast, is interested in folk dance not from motives of patriotism, but rather because they are fun.

This brief summary illustrates that a study of Ukrainian Canadian first existence dance forms is related to a number of more established fields, though stands on the periphery of each. Though Ukrainian Canadian studies, dance scholarship in the Ukraine, and the international folk dance community all contribute to the subject at hand, no study from any of these fields has produced a clear description of the dance material of Western Canada.

NOTES

CHAPTER I: THE SCHOLARLY BACKGROUND

A. Ukrainian Canadian Dance and Ethnography

1. Alexandra Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada: Theatre, Choral Music and Dance, 1891 - 1967," M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1977, pp. 151-52.

2. Robert Klymasz, ed., Ukrainian Folk Dance: A Symposium (Toronto: Ukrainian National Youth Federation, 1961).

3. Richard Crum, "The Ukrainian Folk Dance in North America," in Ukrainian Folk Dance: A Symposium (Toronto: Ukrainian National Youth Federation, 1961), pp. 7-8.

4. Mary Ann Herman, "Vasyl' Avramenko - As I Knew Him," in Ukrainian Folk Dance: A Symposium (Toronto: Ukrainian National Youth Federation, 1961), pp. 16-17.

5. Robert B. Klymasz, "The Fine Arts," in A Heritage in Transition, edited by Manoly Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 285.

6. Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions," pp. 154-60 and 217-19.

7. Vasyl' Avramenko, Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky: Opys [Ukrainian National Dances: A Description] (Winnipeg: Shkoly Ukrains'koho Natsional'noho Tanku, 1928); and Vasyl' Avramenko, Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky, muzyka i strii [Ukrainian National Dances, Music and Costume] (Winnipeg: Published by the author, 1947).

8. Iryna Knysh, Zhyva dusha narodu [The Living Soul of the Nation] (Winnipeg: Published by the author, 1966); and Ivan Pihuliak, Vasyl' Avramenko a vidrodzhennia ukrains'koho tanku [Vasyl' Avramenko and the Rebirth of Ukrainian National Dancing] (Syracuse, New York: Published by the author, 1979); "V. Avramenko i ukrains'ki tanky" [V. Avramenko and Ukrainian Dance], in Propamiatna knyha ukrains'koho narodnoho domu v Vinnipegu [Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Hall in Winnipeg] 722-24, and others.

9. Robert B. Klymasz, Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1971 (New York: Arno Press, 1980).

10. Robert B. Klymasz, "Klymasz Collection: Lists of Contents of Fieldwork Audiotapes (1961 - 1969)," manuscript index, University of Alberta. (Typewritten.)

11. Robert B. Klymasz, A Bibliography of Ukrainian Folklore in Canada, 1902-64 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1964), pp. 39-40.

12. William Paluk, Canadian Cossacks (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Review Publications Co., 1943), pp. 35-42.

13. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, Materiialy do ukrains'ko-kanadiis'koi folkl'orystyky i dialektolohii [Ukrainian Canadian Dialectological Folkloric Texts], vols. 1-3 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1956-1963).

14. Myrna Kostash, All of Baba's Children (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977), p. 180.

15. The local history books most relevant to this study are Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area (Smoky Lake: Smoky Lake and District Cultural and Heritage Society, 1983); and Pioneers Settled, We Continue.....: Swan Plain and Surrounding Districts History Book. (Swan Plain: Swan Plain History Book Committee, 1983).

16. See the discography below.

17. Ol'ha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada (Ottawa: Trident Press, 1968), p. 32.

18. Polish Wedding at Kaszuby, painted by William Kurelek, reproduced in William Kurelek, The Polish Canadians (Montreal: Tundra Books, 1981), pp. 40-41.

19. The Barn Dance, painted by William Kurelek, reproduced in William Kurelek, Kurelek's Canada (Toronto: Canadian Heritage Library, 1975), p. 95.

B. Ukrainian Dance and Ethnography

20. Roman W. Harasymchuk, Tańce huculskie [Hutsul Dances], vol. 5: Prace etnograficzne [Ethnographic Studies] (L'viv: Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1939), pp. 3-5 and 289-95. Also Roman Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok narodno-khoreohrafichnoho mystetstva radians'koho Prykarpattia" [The Development of the Folk Choreographic Art in Soviet Carpathia], candidate's dissertation, Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk, 1956), pp. 26-62.

21. Andrii Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo Ukrainy [The Folk Choreographic Art of Ukraine] (Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk, 1963), pp. 3-11.

22. Oskar Kolberg, Lud, jego zwyczaje, sposób życia [The People, Their Customs and Way of Life], vol. 33 Pokucie [Pokuttia], part 3 (Cracow: Uniwersytet Jagiellonski, 1889; reprint ed., Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, [n.d.]).

23. Volodymyr Shukhevych, Hutsul'shchyna [The Hutsul Region], part 3, in Materiialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnol'ogii, vol. 5 (L'viv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1902), pp. 78-80.

24. Vasyl' Verkhovynets', Teoria ukrains'koho narodnoho tanka [Theory of Ukrainian Folk Dance], (Poltava: 1920; 4th rev. ed., Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1968).

25. Vasyl' Verkhovynets', Vesnianochka [Spring Song] (Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1925; 4th rev. ed., Kyiv: Ukraina, 1975).

26. Andrii Humeniuk, "Tantsiuval'na muzyka ukrains'koho radians'koho narodu" [Dance Music of the Soviet Ukrainian People], candidate's dissertation (Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk, 1952); Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo.

27. Andrii Humeniuk, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi [Ukrainian Folk Dances] (Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk, 1962), revised and enlarged (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1968).

28. Andrii Humeniuk, "Narodne tantsiuval'ne mystetstvo" [Folk Dance Art], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1957, no. 2, pp. 137-41; "Narodni tantsi ta rozvahy" [Folk Dances and Games], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1959, no. 2, pp. 134-44; "Ukrains'kyi tanets'" [Ukrainian Dance], Mystetstvo, no. 3 (1962), pp. 20-22; Z. M. Syzonenko and A. Humeniuk, "Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi" [Ukrainian Folk Dances], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1963, no. 3, pp. 105-16; Z. M. Syzonenko and A. Humeniuk, "Narodni tantsi" [Folk Dances], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1964, no. 2, pp. 89-91 and no. 3, pp. 74-82; Andrii Humeniuk, "Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi" [Ukrainian Folk Dances], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1967, no. 1, pp. 70-78.

29. Andrii Humeniuk, "Deiaki pytannia metodyky zapysu narodnykh tantsiv" [Several Aspects of Methodology of Notating Folk Dances], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1959, no. 4, pp. 125-32; "Zapysy i pryntsypy klasyfikatsii narodnykh tantsiv" [Notations and Principles of Classifying Folk Dances], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1964, no. 6, pp. 37-42.

30. Andrii Humeniuk and A. Lukin, "Osnovni rukhy ukrains'koho narodnoho tantsiu" [The Fundamental Steps of Ukrainian Folk Dance], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1961, no. 2, pp. 126-31, no. 3, pp. 123-28, and no. 4, pp. 121-27.

31. Andrii Humeniuk, ed., Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi (Melodii) [Ukrainian Folk Dances (Melodies)] (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1955); Instrumental'na muzyka [Instrumental Music] (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1972).

32. Kim Vasylenko, Leksyka ukrains'koho narodno-stsenichnoho tantsiu [The Lexicon of Ukrainian Folk-Staged Dance] (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1971), and "Zbahachennia khoreohrafichnoi leksyky" [The Enrichment of Choreographic Lexicon], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1968, no. 3, pp. 40-47.

33. Kim Vasylenko, Zoloti zerna [Golden Seeds] (Kyiv: Molod', 1963).

34. Kas'ian Goleizovskii, Obrazy russkoi narodnoi khoreografii [Images of Russian Folk Choreography] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1964).

35. Oleksa Stepovyi, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi [Ukrainian Folk Dances] (Augsburg: Rekord, 1946).

36. Pavlo Macenko, "Narodna pisnia i tanok" [The Folk Song and Dance], Ukrainian Folk Dance: A Symposium, edited by Robert B. Klymasz. (Toronto: Ukrainian National Youth Federation, 1961), pp. 25-33.

37. Senkiv, Ivan, Die Hirtenkultur der Huzulen: Eine volkskundlische Studie [The Pastoral Culture of the Hutsuls: A Folklife Study] (Marburg/Lahn: J. G. Herder Institut, 1981), pp. 104-09.

38. Andrii Humeniuk, scholarly director, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi [Ukrainian Folk Dances], Akademiia Nauk URSR, 1955-56 and 1959 (60 mm films.) The dances are recorded on 14 reels of film and housed in the State Archives in Kyiv.

39. Mykola Lysenko, Molodoshchi: Zbirnyk tantsiv ta vesnianok [Youth: A Collection of Dances and Spring Games] (Kyiv: 1875).

40. Volodymyr Hnatiuk, "Haivky" [Spring Dance Songs], Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii, vol. 12 (L'viv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1909).

41. Oleksii Dei, ed., Ihry ta pisni [Dance Games and Songs] (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1963).

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CHAPTER II: CONTEXTS

A discussion of the context of dance of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain should include descriptions of the communities in general, as well as more specific contexts of the dance events themselves.

A. History of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain

Both Swan Plain and Smoky Lake settlements were founded around the turn of this century. Both communities emerged when white settlers began to populate the area and clear farmland from the forested quarter sections they homesteaded. Municipal districts, school districts, churches, and later community halls and various organizations were established in time.

1. Smoky Lake Area

The Victoria Methodist Mission was set up on the North Saskatchewan River as early as 1862 by Rev. George McDougall. Hudson's Bay and Northwest Trading Companies held trading posts there from 1863 to 1897. A commercial center grew after 1887 at Pakan, where the government set up a ferry crossing the river.

Several groups of settlers from the village of Toporivtsi in Bukovyna travelled to the area in 1899, 1900, and 1902. More arrived from Toporivtsi and other villages after that time. The earliest settlers claimed land near the river, and the settlement expanded northward as the sections were filled. By 1902-1903, farmers were settling on land at the present site of Smoky Lake (sections 21 and 22 of T59 R17 W4). By 1910, this area was well populated and new settlers were searching another ten or fifteen miles north for available homesteads. Pakan and Victoria had earlier been settled by Metis, British and other farmers. The Smoky Lake area was claimed almost exclusively by Ukrainians.[1] Administratively, the area was declared a Local Improvement District in 1911. A post office had been established near the future townsite in 1909 by Tanasko Dwernychuk. Smoky Lake itself received much more attention after 1915 when the Canadian National Railroad announced that their new railroad would pass through there rather than through the larger settlement of Pakan. At that time it became apparent that Smoky Lake would continue to grow on this important transportation route. A general store was opened up, and other establishments claimed lots in the future community center. The tracks actually reached the settlement in 1918. Smoky Lake was declared a hamlet in 1917 and developed officially into a village in 1922. By 1923, the developing community was growing at a rapid rate.[2]

Religious life was one of the settlers' main concerns and one important focal point upon which the communities developed. As has been stated, Fort Victoria started as a Methodist Mission. The Methodists at first devoted their missionary work to the native Cree and Blackfoot. When the European settlers came, however, they too became the targets of the missionaries. A Methodist mission was established just north of present Smoky Lake in 1908. Eastern Orthodoxy had been the established church in Bukovyna and a great many of the immigrants were devout believers. The church had been an important institution in their villages in Europe, and the early Ukrainian Canadians felt a great need to establish their faith in the new land. Orthodox churches with their characteristic cupolas were erected in Pakan as early as 1902, in Edward by 1904, and in Smoky Lake in 1905. Ukrainian rite Catholicism was the established church in Halychyna and therefore predominated in areas populated by settlers from this area. A Ukrainian Catholic church was built in the Cossack district in 1912, and a second was built northwest of Smoky Lake in 1914. The nationally conscious Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was formed in Canada in 1918. It established parishes in north Kotzman in 1926 and in Smoky Lake by 1928. Competition and sometimes conflict arose between the three Eastern Churches (Russo-Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox), as well as among the Methodists, Presbyterians, United Church, Roman Catholics, and other denominations. On more than one occasion, a single church structure changed its affiliation as the congregations accepted, rejected and replaced the different clergy.[3]

A second most important focus of community life was the development of school districts in the rural community. Education was

considered a high priority among the settlers who experienced the frustration of illiteracy or at least the inability to assert themselves in English. The Victoria school opened in 1888, Lobstick School District was established by 1905, Edward in 1907, Toporoutz in 1909, Kotzman in 1917, and nine more districts in the vicinity were established by 1921. The establishment of a rural school district involved first the identification of a student population, (usually those children who lived within a five mile radius), the election of trustees, administrative recognition, the difficult task of financing, the erection of the school building and finally the hiring of the teachers and actually sending the children to learn. The one-room schools served as much more than just a classroom for several decades until centralization in the school division closed down many in the late 1940s and 1950s.[4]

Secular Ukrainian community activity was developing strongly by 1920. Such activity was facilitated by the increasing security and prosperity on the farms. It was also, in part, motivated by the Bolshevik Revolution in Europe, the establishment of a Ukrainian national state, and the influx of new, more nationally conscious settlers after World War I. The Ukrainian Educational Association of Smoky Lake was established with the aims of observing all Ukrainian national holidays, preserving the Ukrainian language, arts and culture, as well as church services and education for the old and young. The Association rented a building from A. Horobets and S. Greniuk, then a larger one from W. Chahley for their activities. In the summer of 1921 the Association raised money to construct their own hall. This Narodnyi dim (National hall) was used as a reading hall, as well as for

dances, church services, educational classes, meetings, concerts, plays and many other functions for a great many years. A smaller rural reading hall (chytal'nia) was constructed four miles south of Smoky Lake. Another one was built six miles north of Smoky Lake during this same period. Both these latter structures were destroyed by fire by 1930. A Ukrainian Farmers' National Home was built nine miles northwest of Smoky Lake in 1932. This hall, too, was destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt in stone in 1933. The community hall was active into the 1950s. The community-oriented population of the Smoky Lake area could involve themselves in the churches, national halls, and other organizations that were established in time.[5]

The town of Smoky Lake today continues to grow and currently has a population of approximately three thousand. Smoky Lake boasts of five churches, a senior citizens' drop-in center, a Ukrainian Senior Citizens' Lodge, and an active Cultural and Heritage Association. As a county headquarters, the town includes municipal offices, a large community complex, a new hospital under construction and numerous business facilities.

2. Swan Plain Area

The history of the Swan Plain community in Eastern Saskatchewan developed along much the same path as Smoky Lake. Swan Plain grew and reached each of its milestones a few years later than Smoky Lake, and without the initial impetus of a nearby mission and fur trading post.

In 1903, the area was very sparsely populated by European settlers, which included a few Scandinavian and German farmers. Near

the end of 1904, a relatively large group of Ukrainians from the town of Borshchiv in Halychyna settled on homesteads in the area. This base population was soon supplemented by other Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian homesteaders. Bukovynian settlers arrived in time, though the bulk of the Ukrainian population was from Halychyna. The area was quite densely settled by the 1920s, with practically every available homestead being claimed.

The Rural Municipalities of Clayton and Livingstone, established in 1910 and 1913 respectively, included Swan Plain and its vicinity. The Arabella Post Office had been established in 1907, and one in Swan Plain was set up in 1913. A small store was temporarily operated by the Kowch family from 1915. F. Bobyk and K. Dynic opened a general store in 1922.[6]

Churches were established in Swan Plain later than in Smoky Lake. A Ukrainian Catholic church was built in 1912. A second church was built one mile north and one mile west of the first. Its congregation worshipped as Catholics, later as a Ukrainian Orthodox, then as a Russo-Orthodox community. A separate Ukrainian Orthodox church was built in 1930. Protestant churches had much less impact in Swan Plain than in Smoky Lake. The first such church to be built was a United Church in 1936.[7]

Rural School Districts in Swan Plain also played an important role in community life. The Paniowce School District submitted its application documents in 1910, and was renamed Swan Plain in 1911. Arabella school, several miles south, was also established in 1910. Bighorn School District was established in 1912, Poelcapelle in 1917, and Moss Side school in 1932. The school districts were closed due to

centralization by the late 1950s and 1960s.[8]

The population of Swan Plain constructed a Narodnyi dim (Ukrainian Community Hall) at the hamlet intersection in 1930. Meetings, concerts, plays, dances and other activities which had previously been held in the schools and homes could now be housed in this larger facility. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church held services in the hall in 1937. The Canadian Ukrainian Youth Organization (SUMK), affiliated with the Orthodox Church, held its meetings in the Narodnyi dim in the 1930s and 1940s. School teachers in the surrounding district often served as cultural organizers and leaders. These included Harry Hryciw, Matt Lyciuk, Dorothy Cipywnyk, John Szczur, John Kostiuk and Wasyl Tkatch. The Narodnyi dim remains in use today.[9]

The hamlet of Swan Plain presently consists of three businesses, the Narodnyi dim, two churches and a dozen or so homes. Much of its rural population has moved some eighteen miles south to the town of Norquay, or to some other larger center.

3. Community Developments

Developments affecting farming and the lifestyle of the population were similar in both Smoky Lake and Swan Plain. The Bukovynians in Smoky Lake and the Halychyany in Swan Plain had left the old country for basically the same reasons. They were being exploited by the upper classes in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Land was scarce and the prospect of dividing their small holdings among several children prompted a dim outlook on the future. Money was very difficult to earn and save. The villagers borrowed money or sold land

to buy ship cards across the ocean. Some men travelled alone. Some planned to work for a while and go back home with their savings. Others promised their wives and children that they too would cross the ocean as soon as more tickets could be bought. Other families sold all they had and travelled to Canada together, risking their future on the stories of free land and good soil in this new and distant country.[10]

The first years in both Swan Plain and Smoky Lake were lean and difficult. The farmers arrived in isolated, forested areas. The first tasks were to find and claim a homestead, build a shelter, and secure a basic subsistence for the family. Considering that most settlers had little or no money, they survived basically on what they could grow or hunt as well as whatever helpful neighbours could provide. Purchased materials often had to be hauled by wagon or carried on their backs for many miles. Cloth in the old country had been mostly hand spun and hand woven. In Canada, manufactured fabric and clothing eventually became standard. Land was cleared by hand and plowed with oxen. Later horses became more common, and soon machinery became available to facilitate the labour. Early in the second decade of this century, steam engines became available. These were used especially at harvest time. A telephone circuit was installed near Swan Plain by 1911. In the 1920s, the Smoky Lake theatre presented movies, though no such modern wonders could be found in a small center such as Swan Plain. The drought and depression of the 1930s affected life significantly for a decade, though it was in these years that electricity, radio, and gasoline powered tractors appeared on the scene in rural Western Canada. After World War II, the radio became more common, roads continued to improve, and the urban centers became increasingly

influential in the life of rural areas. As farming technology and methods developed, a single family could eventually operate a farm of several entire sections. (In the early years, a single quarter-section had been considered huge.) Rural areas depopulated. A county center such as Smoky Lake often succeeds in retaining people who retire from farming, however smaller centers such as Swan Plain are frequently abandoned for conveniences available elsewhere.

B. Dance Contexts

1. Life Cycle Celebrations

When the Ukrainian peasants immigrated to Western Canada, they brought with them not only their material possessions but also their aesthetic and cultural values. The agrarian-based society of Halychyna and Bukovyna was rich with folk tradition. Western Ukrainian traditions of birth and death certainly contained dance as an important element,[11] though the rituals of marriage were by far the most elaborate life cycle celebration and included dance most prominently.

a) Weddings

Weddings were also important events in the community life of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain. Weddings (vesillia) were traditionally celebrated in the summer, after Easter, or more often in the fall after the harvest was complete and before November 28 when the pre-Christmas lenten period of abstinence (Pylypivka) began. Wedding celebrations

traditionally lasted for three days or more. They included a long series of rituals and ceremonies, starting with the betrothal (svatannia), then, usually a few weeks later, with the invitations (zaprosyny), wreath-weaving (vinkopletennia, zavodyny), and dressing of the bride. On the day of the marriage itself, after the church service (shliub), the bride and groom each travelled separately to their own homes with their respective guests. Each having hired their own musicians, two separate wedding celebrations were held at the respective houses (vesillia u molodoi and vesillia u molodoho). Later that evening or the next day, the groom and his party journeyed to the bride's parents' home. After "buying" his bride, (vykup) and overcoming any other obstacles set by her family (pereima), the groom eventually took her back to his parents' home where the celebrations continued. The celebration sometimes continued from Friday night until Tuesday. In less than ideal circumstances where one of the newlyweds was an orphan, or where poverty or distance prohibited, the weddings may have been shortened or celebrated together (vesillia vkupi) in one location.[12]

The entire event at every stage was narrated by special wedding songs. People danced at various stages in the ceremonies including the betrothal, wreath-weaving, and on the morning of the marriage. After the church ceremony, dancing became an even more important part of the celebration. The musicians played sometimes from morning until sunrise the next day, and then again that afternoon.[13]

In Canada, the wedding tradition was temporarily disrupted where individual families settled among non-Ukrainian neighbours. In concentrated Ukrainian settlements, however, the communities continued

to function. In some areas, such as Smoky Lake, people from the same village in Ukraine remained together in the prairies and social life remained relatively intact. In other cases, the communities had to be recomposed to incorporate Bukovynians, Halychany, and everyone else living in the area. The ritual structure of the wedding event was affected by new economic, geographic, and social circumstances, though it basically remained intact until the 1930s and 1940s in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake. Cars eventually replaced horse and foot transportation. White dresses replaced the folk costumes of earlier times, but the community continued to sing and weave wreaths for the bride, and the groom still often had to remove the bride from her family's celebration to his own.[14]

Wedding dances were held in the house and in the yard of the bride's and groom's parents. As many people as possible were invited, given the economic position of the hosting family and the physical capacity of the accommodations. In times of warm and dry weather, it was convenient to entertain the guests out of doors, often on the grass in front of the house. In winter time, however, the celebrations usually took place in the house itself. Until the 1920s, houses often were built in traditional style with two rooms separated by a central hallway (<u>siny</u> or <u>khoromy</u>). During a wedding, the rooms were cramped with people of all ages, cooking, eating, standing, joking, dancing, or playing the music. The furniture, except the table and benches, was pushed against the walls or carried right out of the building. The walls often dripped with the humidity caused by the cooking and dancing. The small windows often had to be knocked out for ventilation.[15] Larger frame houses with big rooms were built

starting in the 1920s and provided more room for dancing.[16]

When wedding dances were to be held on the ground outside, a flat level area was selected for the "dance floor" and any tall grass, mounds, or holes were flattened. A bench was set up nearby for the musicians. In some instances, the dance area had a surface of packed dirt.[17] The grass in the dance area may have been fresh and green the morning of the wedding, but after a few hours of dancing, the grass would be dead, all the roots would have been pulled out, and the people woould end up dancing on bare dirt. A cloud of dust was raised by their shuffling and stamping feet, though this did not detract from the enjoyment. In the late fall, the dances sometimes took place literally out in the snow.[18] In at least one case near Smoky Lake, this took place as late as 1927.[19] After two hours of dancing in the snow, the dance area was reduced to a mass of mud and slush.[20] The dancers' spirits were warmed with alchohol and they likely retreated into the house regularly. In any event, dances in such conditions could not have lasted long.[21] Dancing in the house or in the yard was the most common arrangement in the first decades of this century, continuing, on occasion, until the end of the 1920s.[22] Dances held on the ground were most common in Ukrainian ethnic territories at the beginning of the twentieth century[23] and, in villages, until very recently.[24]

On other occasions, platforms were built for the wedding dances in Ukraine[25] and also in Canada. The following description illustrates the atmosphere of such a wedding in winter.

> Ukrainian country weddings carried a reputation in a class by themselves for conviviality, good food and merriment to which Dad contributed several years of his skill on the violin. He was usually accompanied by others skilled on an accordian and dulcimer. William E. "Buck" Buchanan of the Alberta Provincial Police detachment in Smoky Lake, often

Plate 1: A Hutsul wedding dance celebrated on the ground outside of a house. (Photograph 11 in Roman Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok narodnoho khoreohrafichnoho mystetstva radians'koho Prykarpattia," candidate's dissertation, Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk, 1956, p. 103.)

Plate 2: A celebration in Alberta, ca. 1902, taking place on the ground outside of a house. (From Ol'ha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada (Ottawa: Trident Press, 1968) after p. 32.)

> participated with his drums when occasion would release him from his duties, rapping out a staccato up-beat tempo that was certain to stimulate a crashing foot stamp to the floor by the males, whilst the ladies "soft shoe" dipped into the beat as only the grace of a female dancer allows it. All was rendered in the way that a "Hopak" was intended, as a sure fire cure-all for rheumatic or work weary muscular aches. In the stimulating atmosphere of these events the "E" string on Dad's violin frequently broke as he enthusiastically laid his bow to the tune. He always carried a couple of spares in his pocket.
>
> It was not uncommon at winter weddings, for that seemed to be the generally accepted and convenient time from work for such bliss, to see guests dancing outdoor in the cold on a wooden platform built for the occasion. Usually the violin and dulcimer were the only instruments that would take the punishing temperature, which nevertheless added zest to the dance, while we 5 and 6 year-olds (this was over 60 years ago) ogled in awe at the joy and performances of the dancers. I do recall seeing Dad "fiddling" the violin with woolen gloves from which the fingers of the left hand were removed so that he could finger the notes.[26]

Dancing on a platform was better than on the ground. Families that had the material or could afford it preferred to build one.[27] After levelling the designated area, a foundation of logs was arranged for the dance floor, this were framed with lumber such as "two-by-four" planks. A floor of boards was nailed to the frame so that the platform was as even and level as possible.[28] The platforms averaged 18 by 20 feet in size. They may have been smaller or larger depending on the availability of materials and the anticipated number of guests.[29] Sometimes a railing of poplar was nailed around the perimeter to help prevent dancers from falling off.[30] Improvised benches of boards over sawn stumps circled the dance platform for resting and watching.[31] A bench or chairs for the musicians was placed in one corner of the platform or sometimes nearby on the ground.[32]

Though the platform surface was cleaner and more regular than dirt, it was important to watch in case a nail protruded, or a cracked board broke. Platforms were also more satisfying for the dancers in

Plate 3: The Petryshyn orchestra near Swan Plain, including Stanley, John Sr., Tony and Frank. (From Pioneers Settled, We Continue.....: Swan Plain and Surrounding Districts History Book (Swan Plain: Swan Plain History Book Committee, 1983), p. 250.)

Plate 4: Polish Wedding at Kaszuby

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Plate 4: Farmyard wedding with a dance platform. (Polish Wedding at Kaszuby, reproduced in William Kurelek, The Polish Canadians (Montreal: Tundra Books, 1981), p. 41.)

that the men's stamping was more clearly heard.[33] Weddings dances on platforms were very common in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake areas as long as weddings continued to be celebrated on the farms into the 1940s.

Wedding dances were held in large vacant granaries in Western Ukraine and also in Western Canada.[34] In the era of barn dances from approximately 1935 to 1955, these large structures also occasionally served for wedding celebrations. This was the case, for example, in the marriage of Joe Filipowich and Winnie Grywachewsky in 1947 near Swan Plain.[35] Wedding dances in barns, however, were not particularly common in either Swan Plain[36] nor near Smoky Lake.[37]

After the community halls were built, wedding receptions and dances were sometimes held in these facilities in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain themselves, rather than at the families' homes. The rental fee for the Smoky Lake Narodnyi dim in 1923 was $10.00 per day.[38] Today, some community halls are used almost exclusively for these events.

At Ukrainian weddings in Alberta and Saskatchewan during the early years of this century, the musicians were local farmers who could play the skrypka (fiddle), tsymbaly (dulcimer), and bubon (drum). This orchestra corresponded to the norm in Western Ukraine until that time. Variants of this grouping were also common. Sometimes only skrypka and tsymbaly would play, or skrypa and bubon, or the skrypka would play alone. Tsymbaly were relatively scarce in the earliest years because they were cumbersome to transport across the Atlantic. They maintained great popularity, however, and musicians built new ones when they could. Kost Chahley and Vasyl Bilakhowsky played often in the area of Smoky Lake, though other musicians were also known there. By the 1920s and 1930s, younger men were learning to play and the number of

available musicians increased. These included the Babichuk brothers, Radomskys, Mike Oleksiuk and others. Wasyl Kowch played tsymbaly in Swan Plain area. John Petryshyn and others played skrypka. The Petryshyn family orchestra of the 1920s consisted of one or two skrypky, tsymbaly, a bass violin and a drum.[39] Other local musicians included Edward, George, and Fred Lukey, John Perepeluk, Mark Genetz, Bill and John Sapach, John, Mike and Stanley Holodniuk, and Mike Davidiuk in the Arabella district.[40] Mike Scraba, George, Metro, and John Lazaruk, Pete and Paul Polowich, Nick Kutsak, John Anoneychuk, Eddie and Ronnie Grywacheski and the Petryshyn families lived in Bighorn School District. The Petryshyns included John Sr. and his sons Tony, Stanley, Mike, Frank, Dan and John Jr. Later, John Jr. formed a band with his own sons Johnny, Gene and Wayne.[41] Wasyl, Dmytro, Walter and Patricia Kowch, Mike Dereniuk, Steve Wasylyniuk, Mike Kostiuk, Emil Mamone, Isaac Thiessen and Eugene Chorneyko played in the Swan Plain vicinity itself.

Payment for three, four or five days of music was approximately three dollars in the early years, to be divided among the musicians.[42] By the 1920s and 30s, earnings rose to six or seven dollars. The musicians would also earn some coins that would be dropped into their instrument by the guests as they arrived.

Canadian-born musicians introduced new instruments such as the clarinet, saxophone, guitar, banjo, accordion, and harmonica. These may have replaced the tsymbaly and sometimes even the fiddle in other dance contexts, though tsymbaly continue to be standard in wedding dances at Smoky Lake today.[43] Tsymbaly are less common in Swan Plain, though Bill Galay plays them in a band based in the town of Swan

River which occasionally plays for weddings in the Swan Plain area.[44]

In early Smoky Lake, the most popular dances during weddings were toporivs'ka, and hutsulka. The polka, kolomyika, chaban, sidemka, kozak, and hora were also common. The arkan, kopirushka, heel-and-toe, chardash, shvets', zhyd, kreits pol'ka, and broom dance were also known and were played occasionally. By the late 1920s and 1930s the polka, waltz, and fox-trot had joined the toporivs'ka and hutsulka as most popular dances. The one-step and schottische entered into the repertoire after World War II. By that time, the toporivs'ka, hutsulka, chaban, sidemka, kozak, and hora had surrendered their popularity to the polka, fox-trot, two-step and waltz. The more traditional Ukrainian dances are rarely performed at weddings today with the exception of the modern kolomyika variant, with individual solos performed mostly by dancers of theatrical dance ensembles.

The Halychany of Swan Plain did not know toporivs'ka at all. The kolomyika and polka were most popular. Chaban, heel-and-toe, verkhovyna, sidemka, dva holuby, hanusia, arkan and others added variety to their repertoire. Waltzes, two-steps and fox-trots entered the repertoire soon thereafter. Kolomyika, chaban, heel-and-toe, and the butterfly are still performed occasionally.

Special dance forms particular to the wedding itself are recorded in sources from Ukraine[45] though such dances were seldom if ever performed by the immigrants in Canada. At the bride's celebration, she danced a first dance with his best man (druzhba) and correspondingly, the groom danced with her maid of honour (druzhka) at his home.[46] Once the couple was together they again had the honour of the first dance. Parallel practices are common in many Canadian weddings today

in the couple's first dance, as well as the "Anniversary Waltz" performed by the couple during anniversaries.[47]

Weddings and other family celebrations remained resistant to change in comparison with other dance events. Older dance forms were retained much longer in this context. This accommodated the older people, who were less likely to attend a regular dance, but would certainly attend a wedding. Cultural heritage and family ties were explicitly expressed at weddings, and could remain prominent in their dancing as well. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the first half of the wedding dance kept a more public decorum as a concession to non-Ukrainian guests and "Canadian etiquette." By the latter part of the evening, however, the Ukrainian element became less and less restrained, "Hosti sy rozishly, i lysh nashi sy lyshyly!" (The guests have gone home, and only our people are left!).[48]

2. Calendar Cycle Celebrations

The cycle of the seasons was marked by a number of special celebrations in Ukrainian folk culture.[49] To a great degree, the saints' days and holidays of the calendar continued their significance in Canada. Dance did play a significant role in certain of these celebrations.

a) Christmas

According to the Julian calendar, Christmas was celebrated on January 7th, and the most important Christmas Eve supper (Sviata

vecheria) took place on January 6th. The period of Advent was marked by fasting and abstinence from parties with music and dancing. Christmas Eve supper was also characterized by solemnity, and it was only after supper that the merrymaking began with young carollers visiting neighbouring homes. Various groups of carollers travelled from house to house for several days, expressing wishes of good health, and good crops, as well as generally entertaining themselves.[50]

Dancing has been connected with this practice since pre-Christian times in Ukrainian history.[51] The tradition of dancing and carolling maintained in the 19th and early 20th century in Western Ukraine,[52] and by Ukrainian immigrants to Western Canada.[53] In Hutsul'shchyna, this dancing had retained a relatively ritual character. Groups of male carollers travelled from house to house with a fiddler and trembita player, and carried topirtsi (small axes) with bells tied to them. They performed special dance movements as they started their visitations, as they approached each house, and after the last visitation each evening. After arriving in someone's yard, they danced outside a window. As they entered the house, they danced again so that the hemp would grow tall, and again to the health of each individual in the household. If the members of the household raised bees, the carollers would also dance at the site of the apiary so that the bee swarms would not fly away in the upcoming summer. A special dance "plias" ("plies") was performed by the male carollers, but at certain points in the visitation they invited the women in the house to join them in mixed dances such as the hutsulka, pivtorak and kozak.[54]

The practice of dancing the plias was known in at least one community in East-Central Saskatchewan,[55] though it is not clear

whether this was done in Swan Plain or Smoky Lake.

In the Smoky Lake area, it was standard for young children to go carolling on Christmas Eve itself, after the Holy Supper. Older people would carol on January 7th and sometimes for several days after that.[56] South of Smoky Lake, groups of carollers would include a fiddler, and would dance in people's houses as they visited. They danced the hutsulka and the polka most often.[57] This practice was not common after the 1920s and may not have occurred in some of the communities at all.[58] On the 8th of January, the day after Christmas, neighbours would sometimes gather at one of the larger houses for a dance. Such a dance was held several times at the Ragoza house east of Smoky Lake before 1920. Musicians were hired for this dance for two dollars.[59]

The masking ritual of carolling with "Malanka" at New Years has its origins in the pre-Christian art of the skomorokhy.[60] This practice was still common in Western Ukraine at the turn of the century[61] and continued for some time north of Smoky Lake. A group of boys travelled together visiting houses in which a girl of marriageable age lived. One of the boys played a fiddle while another was dressed up as a girl. The visitation included vinshuvannia (declarations of well-wishing) and carols (shchedrivky and koliadky), as well as dances. After carolling, the fiddler would play a polka, kolomyika, or any other dance, and the boys would dance with the girl or girls who lived there. One of the boys danced with the "girl" en travestie. After three or four dances, the boys would move on to the next house in which there was a girl. They did not visit houses with no daughters since there would be no one to dance with. Mr. Bill Nickolaychuk quite often dressed as

the girl in the 1920s in the district of Ruthenia, south of Smoky Lake.[62]

b) Lent and Easter

The Ukrainian pre-lenten celebrations of Miasnytsi included evenings of dance "vechornytsi," or "Pushschennia"[63] and were, to a degree, preserved in Western Canada. On the last weekend before the Easter lenten season, communities would organize a dance. After this weekend, dancing would not be allowed for forty days until after Easter. "Pushchennia" dances were held in both Smoky Lake and Swan Plain from early period of their settlement until recently.[64] Various organizations organized Pushchennia dances in later years as a means of community development and fund raising. These Pushchennia generally attracted both the young and older generations in the community.[65]

Ukrainian spring songs (hahilky, iahilky, haiwky, vesnianky) integrated vocal and movement components. These dance-songs and games were performed primarily by girls and young women at Easter time. Hahilky preserve many archaic textual[66] and dance elements,[67] and therefore have attracted a great deal of attention from folklore scholars. They apparently did not, however, play an important role in Easter celebrations in Smoky Lake or in Swan Plain.[68]

Community dances were organized on Easter Monday and sometimes Easter Tuesday in the Smoky Lake area. Such dances were held in the Cadron hall, for example, in the 1920s. Admission for these dances was twenty five cents per male at that time, and dropped to fifteen cents

during the depression. Females were allowed in free of charge. The dance was organized by the hall organizers.[69] People also gathered at designated homes on the afternoon of Easter Sunday, where they would engage in various forms of entertainment. These activities included dancing.[70] Instances of dances on Easter Monday and Tuesday are documented in Western Ukraine as well.[71]

c) Other Feast Days

A number of other major and minor calendar feast days remained significant in the life of the Ukrainian population of Swan Plain and Smoky Lake. Though special dances were not necessarily held for each feast, work was usually postponed and social activities gained prominence on these days. Good attendance at a Senior Citizens' Club birthday party and Dance on June 12, 1984 at Smoky Lake was partially ascribed to the fact that that day marked the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul.[72]

A major celebration in the calendar cycle of each church community was the church's patronal feast (khram). The Church of St. Paraskevia near Smoky Lake, for example, celebrated the feast of Paraskevia on November 10th, while the Russo-Orthodox parish of the Holy Trinity celebrated their khram on Zeleni Sviata (Pentecost). South of the Smoky Lake area the khram was celebrated by special church services. These were often attended by members of neighbouring parishes. After festivities in the church yard, the parishioners invited each other to their houses and visitations sometimes continued for several days.

These feast days were joyous. People sange, danced, joked, and entertained themseleves in many ways. By the 1940s, the people celebrated their khram mostly in the parish hall, and the festivities became more reserved. Khramy are still important feast days in many rural parishes.[73]

In Canada, school dances were often associated with particular dates in the calendar cycle, such as Halowe'en, Thanksgiving, St. Valentine's day, Mother's day, the Queen's birthday, graduation, and others. These celebrations were adopted by the Ukrainian Canadians from the English mainstream culture in Canada. Compromise and adaptation were sometimes required to integrate these new celebrations into the calendar cycle. The school Christmas concert, for example, was often celebrated before December 25th, whereas Ukrainians were observing a solemn fasting period then and would not normally have begun to celebrate until after January 6th and 7th. Other dances, such as those celebrating the harvest, likely coincided more naturally with traditional practices.

3. Non-Ritual Events

Aside from dance activity related to rituals of the calendar year or the life cycle, Ukrainians and Ukrainian Canadians also organized dance events simply with social and recreational motives in mind. Such events included community gatherings out-of-doors, dances in private homes, dances held in the schools, in community halls, and barn dances.

a) Outdoor Dances

Village and rural communities in Western Ukrainian territories gathered for dances in designated locations within the villages and in certain fields on hills and in pastures.[74] Such outdoor community dances also took place in the Bukovynian settlements near Smoky Lake though apparently not Swan Plain. Young people from farms as much as seven miles away would gather on a hilltop (near the later location of Kolokreeka Mission). A creek ran across the base of the hill to the south, and a spring flowed near by. The people danced on the hilltop on the grass, raising dust as their feet shuffled in the dirt. When they were thirsty, they simply descended the hill to drink water from the spring. Dances such as this were held practically every Sunday during the summer for a number of years. Local boys generally provided the music, playing on wooden flutes (sopilky) and/or fiddles (skrypky). Toporivs'ka and hutsulka, as well as other dances were enjoyed.[75]

b) Dances at Homes

Dances were also held near people's homes on the grass[76] or in the houses themselves. Advantages of dancing in a building were that it was heated and sheltered from the wind and that, for the most part, the floor was made of boards rather than earth. The greatest disadvantage was the limited available space. Many houses were small and low and could not accommodate dancing at all, and even large houses could usually accommodate no more than eight or ten dancers.

Whenever a dance was held indoors, the furniture was pushed against the walls and into the corners, or carried out of the room altogether. In the early years of Ukrainian settlement in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain, indoor dances were quite infrequent,[77] though they became more and more common as homes were built bigger. By the 1910s near Andrew, Alberta, dances were rarely held outside.[78] After attending church service on Sundays, young people were occasionally invited to one or another farmstead for lunch. After the meal, for example, one particular group often walked together to the Dobush family house near Zhoda. The Dobush house was large for that time, with an especially large east room. The tables were moved out and benches were placed against the walls. The group danced in that room all afternoon to the accompaniment of a skrypka and tsymbaly. The group dispersed in time to walk home and milk the cows before supper. Some had to walk as far as nine miles home, so they were grateful if a passing wagon would stop and they could ride at least part of the way.[79] Such events were likely not uncharacteristic of dances in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake in the early years of this century.

House parties with dancing continue in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain to the present time. They included dances such as the kolomiyka until recent decades, as attested by Plate 7.

c) Dances in Vacant Houses

Small, informal dances took place occasionally in vacated farm houses in Swan Plain[80] and in Smoky Lake.[81] A group of youthful friends would agree upon the time and place, then simply meet

there to start the fun. They would supply their own music for these parties. They danced polkas, waltzes, kolomyiky, and likely chabany, hanusia, heel-and-toe, verkhovyna, and sidemka. These unchaperoned gatherings at the Ostrowercha and Kukharsky homesteads near Swan Plain were discouraged and eventually terminated by the youths' parents.

Social gatherings served as an important vehicle for community interaction and recreation. Village society had been closely knit in Europe, and the settlers felt lonely and isolated on their separate quarter sections in Canada. People of all ages enjoyed coming together to sing, talk, tell tales, joke, dance, and entertain themselves in other ways.[82] Special musicians were not necessary at parties such as these, especially in the early years when they were scarce. Local people played whatever instruments they had as best as they could. On many occasions, they took turns with the available skrypka to give everyone a chance to dance. Sometimes, there were no musical instruments at all. The people then danced to the rhythm of their own singing. One group danced while another sang and then they would change.[83] Sundays and other holidays (sviata) were natural times for such recreation, since the people rested from farm work on these days.

The early social gatherings in the community and at individual homes functioned as extensions of the old country practice of holding vulytsi and vechornytsi.[84] Dances in rural schools also shared many features with these old country precedents.

d) School Dances

With rural school districts being established in the Smoky Lake area from 1888 to 1921 and in the Swan Plain area from 1910 to 1932, the school buildings themselves became an important community facility. Aside from school classes themselves, they were used for church services, community and political meetings, concerts, weekend dances for the young, and fund raising events for upcoming projects.

The Swan Plain school was built by 1912 and a community of fifteen to twenty adolescents and young adults had grown up or moved into the area. This group organized dances for themselves in the school. The trustees entrusted them with the school keys in exchange for a guarantee to pay for damages and a promise to scrub the floor and restore the desk arrangement after the dance. The dances themselves took place on Saturdays after each person had finished his or her chores. Dances were held usually every second or third weekend throughout the year except during lenten periods. Each of the boys contributed fifteen cents and each girl was expected to bring a lunch. One of their parents, Vasyl' Kowch, usually played his tsymbaly for these dances. He earned however much was collected from the dancers, usually about a dollar.[85]

Later, in the 1920s in the Smoky Lake area, the school trustees themselves would sponsor a social evening in order to raise money. In the Cossack school district, social evenings would be attended by approximately fifty people including children, youths, and younger married couples. Married people and older farmers came less frequently, especially if they didn't particularly like to dance. A

price of approximately fifty cents per ticket was levied to pay for the musicians and hopefully to realize a profit for the school district. The dances were held approximately once per month, most often in the winter to coincide with holidays such as Thanksgiving and Halowe'en. Inexpensive local musicians, playing skrypka and tsymbaly, or skrypka and a drum were hired to keep costs down. On special occasions, especially in later years, a clarinetist was also hired.[86]

Schools were the centres of English learning by day, and were considered "public" domain at all times. The Ukrainian population perceived social events in this setting as different than the more "Ukrainian" events such as family weddings. By the 1920s, a generational differentation was evident. The immigrants themselves preferred old country dances, whereas their children, who grew up in Canada, were also interested in the waltz, one-step, two-step, fox-trot, and other new dances. Square dances were very popular among the youth in Swan Plain by around 1915, though the Ukrainian population of Smoky Lake seemed never to accept them completely. Dance bands would alternate their selections to cater to the younger generation and to the "old timers."[87]

School community activities also included pie-socials and box-socials annually in each school district in the 1930s. The object of these events was often to raise money for the school Christmas concert and Christmas presents for the students. A typical box-social included a dance and an auction of the lunch boxes brought by women. The man offering the highest bid for a lunch box would be coupled with the woman who donated it. They were to eat the lunch and dance together at least for a short time. It was considered great

entertainment when neighbours bid against a man for his wife's lunch. The idea was to force his bid as high as they dared.[88]

e) Community Hall Dances

As the school districts became more populated and community activities increasingly taxed the school building, School Boards began to object to problems of "clearing, ruining the school desks and crowding."[89] The need for additional community facilities was clear.

Organized in January of 1920, The Educational Association of Smoky Lake actively engaged itself in various activities, including organizing dances and plays. With the objective of raising money to build their own hall, the association became very active in 1921. Dances were held in empty buildings to raise money. These were well attended and the hall was completed in that same year. Within the first year of the hall's existence, the Educational Association held six dances and many other activities.[90] The Narodnyi dim in Swan Plain was not built until 1930. It, too, played a very important role in the life of the community.[91]

In addition to the Narodnyi dim in the Smoky Lake area itself, rural chytal'ni (reading halls) existed in the 1920s. Aside from their primary function for meetings and discussions, the chytal'ni were also used for Sunday afternoon dances. The Hrushewsky chytal'nia, six miles north of Smoky Lake, was also the base for a choral and drama group.[92] A Narodnyi dim in Highland, nine miles north and west of Smoky Lake, was built in 1932. It served as a

gathering place and home for dances, concerts and anniversaries until the 1950s.[93]

An admission of twenty-five cents to the dances was charged by the association. These were held on Saturday nights (an admission fee to a dance could not be charged on a Sunday). The code of behaviour established for the dance gives an insight into that period.

> In respect of women and girls the following policies were passed:
>
> 1. No hats or caps worn during dancing;
> 2. No smoking in presence of women;
> 3. No dancing with cigarettes in your mouth;
> 4. No spitting on the floor at any time;
> 5. Girls under 15 years of age not to be present at any dance unless accompanied by parents.[94]

The Narodni domy and chytal'ni were explicitly Ukrainian contexts. At the same time, they were progressive, concerned with the future, and quite Canadian-oriented. The Smoky Lake hall, for example, was mainly supported by younger people and active married couples. New and popular dance bands were hired to raise money for future projects. They played then fashionable dances including the fox-trot, one-step, two-step, polka, and others. The older generation seldom attended such events and their 'old time' dances did not figure prominently.[95]

f) Barn Dances

The practice of holding social dances in farm out-buildings had been known in Western Ukraine in the nineteenth century.[96] As mentioned above, wedding dances sometimes took place in large empty granaries.[97] The technology and affluence that allowed for the

building of large barns with sturdy haylofts facilitated the popularity of barn dances in the 1930s and 1940s. A new barn was best for a dance because the hayloft was empty and clean and the building did not smell from the animals. When a farmer wanted to organize a barn dance, he posted notices in neighbouring post offices and businesses and started a verbal advertizing campaign. The hayloft floor was waxed. Benches were lined along the walls and an area was designated for the band. Dances were illuminated by coal oil lamps. People started arriving after their chores were finished on a Friday night. The dance itself started around nine o'clock and usually continued until two or three in the morning. Admission was generally one dollar, and paid guests were marked with a ribbon pinned to their shirt or an ink stamp on their hand. A lunch of coffee and sandwiches was served before midnight, and cost twenty-five cents extra. Alcoholic beverages were illegal without a liquor licence, but two assigned RCMP officers could hardly keep track of everyone at once. About one hundred people came to Bill Boyko's first barn dance in the Swan Plain area in 1939, and as many as five or six hundred attended Prokopchuk's affairs in his huge barn in the 40s and 50s. By that time, cars were common and people would drive for many miles for such an event.[98] If properly organized, the hosting farmer could earn a healthy profit from his efforts. Other farmers including Frank Grywachewski, Jack Wasylyniuk, Metro Mamona, Mike Nahachewsky, Craig Adams, Mike Olenick, Walter Brodie, Fred Olenick, Fred Rudachyk, Andy Schweigert, Leon Kurytniuk, John Holodniuk, and John Sapach also held barn dances in the Swan Plain district.[99]

Plate 5: The Barn Dance

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due to lack of copyright clearance.

Plate 5: A barn dance in progress. Four dancers engaged in a circle dance are located in the central, left side of the image. (The Barn Dance, reproduced in William Kurelek, Kurelek's Canada (Toronto: Canadian Heritage Library, 1975), p. 95.)

The Petryshyn band played for many barn dances in the Swan Plain area though other bands were often imported to add to the novelty and attract a greater clientele. The Hubic band from the south and the Parasiuks from Danbury or other more distant bands were often hired. The musicians in these bands had started their careers as local players at parties and weddings, but had grown in fame until they and their music became known throughout the entire region. These dance bands were more formalized and rehearsed. Four, five or even six musicians played at a barn dance. They played a banjo, guitar, accordion, fiddles and a drumset. Rarely would a tsymbaly be played in this context. The dances included the square dance, polka, two-step, schottische, fox-trot, heel-and-toe, waltz and others.[100]

Reportedly the kolomyika was rarely, if ever, performed in Swan Plain barn dances. However, the painting of a barn dance by William Kurelek, Plate 5, suggests that it was not unheard of in other areas.

g) Recent Contexts

More recently, a variety of local organizations in the town centres became active and sponsored dances for the community. Smoky Lake has continued to grow as a rural centre, and serves as a gathering point in that area. Swan Plain's population, however, turns to the town of Norquay, eighteen miles away, for larger community events.

Smoky Lake's community organizations include active Russo-Orthodox, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic, Roman

Catholic, United, Methodist, Evangelical and other church communities, as well as a Hospital Auxiliary, Fish and Game Association, 4-H, Flying Club, Home and School Group, and Cultural and Heritage Association. The Senior Citizens' Club of Smoky Lake (organized in 1973) sponsors monthly birthday parties and dances in their Drop-In Centre. Russell Kulchisky and his "Dina Tones" often play at these birthday parties, though Holowaychuk, Biley, Russel Latotsky, Radomsky and other bands have also been hired. Dance bands earn from $300 to $800 per night. Polkas, waltzes, and fox-trots are standard fare for these dances, interspersed with schottische, butterfly, bingo dances, heel-and-toe, and other forms. Hutsulka, kolomiyka, seven-step, kozak, and toporivs'ka are also occasionaly performed, though usually only by the Radomsky Orchestra, since he still likes to play "the old ones."[101]

4. Stage Dances

In addition to the purely social dance taking place at the various private and public community events, a different type of dance activity existed within the Ukrainian communities in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.

a) Theatrical Productions

Ukrainian dances were performed in drama productions and later school concerts. These contexts no longer existed with first

existence dance, though they did exert a significant effect on the social dance forms. Grass roots dramatic acivity had become relatively popular in parts of Ukraine by the turn of the century, usually associated with the rise of Ukrainian national consciousness.[102]

In Swan Plain, an amateur theatre group became active very soon after the first group of settlers had established themselves on their land. The plays were directed at first by the more literate community members and performed in houses. After 1912, plays were presented in the schools until the Narodnyi dim was constructed. Similar dramatic activity existed in Smoky Lake prior to 1920, and increased significantly when the chytal'ni and Narodni domy were built. A description of such a concert northeast of Smoky Lake in the 1930s illustrates the character of this activity and the community hall dance that followed:

> Notice the stage. The canvas curtain, rolled down temporarily to obscure the last-minute preparations on stage, advertises various businesses in Smoky Lake: Gaavinchuk Studio, Bill Pawliuk, International Harvester Dealer, and Zaharichuk's store among others. Above the stage is a portrait picture of Taras Shevchenko. Next to it is one of Ivan Franko, another Ukrainian poet and writer. A Union Jack and the yellow and purple Ukrainian National flag flank the pictures.[103]
>
> Hush! The curtain is rolling up. Tonight's play is a one-act comedy. Director, Oleksa Luciw has done a fine job of casting characters: Kate Serediak plays the mother, Elsie Ponich is the eligible maiden, John Meroniuk is the prospective bridegroom and Michael Ponich is the young wit.
>
> The sets are simple, but effective. The flats, painted by Mike Horyn depict a typical Ukrainian pastoral scene - trees, flowers, a stream. For tonight, however, the properties show a kitchen scene in a Ukrainian home.
>
> What fun! Too soon the curtain falls to the resounding applause of an appreciative audience.
>
> Don't go home yet. There's a dance to follow. Tonight, Metro Kulchisky's orchestra is playing. Other times

Starchuk's or Meronyks' provide the music. The benches will be moved aside for the dance.

There'll be lunch later on, too. Ten cents per paper bag, but if you've brought a cake, yours will be free. Ham and bologna sandwiches, a piece of cake, and a cup of hot coffee and you'll be ready to dance the night away.

What? Three o'clock already? Dad has brought the team from Mazurek's barn and he's waiting. Time to go home. Hope you had a good time. See you next concert. Soon no doubt. This is a busy place. Good night.[104]

The characters of the mother, eligible maiden, prospective bridegroom and young wit were standard for that time. Plays were simple, usually one-act, and often humorous. The setting was often a village in the old country, ending with a wedding or some other celebration, complete with a kolomyika or kozachok performed by the actors. Until the late 1920s, these dances were perceived and performed no differently than kolomyiky or kozachky done at real weddings. No special effort was made by the director to revise the dances for the play in that period.[105]

b) Vasyl' Avramenko and His Repertoire

Vasyl' Avramenko arrived in Canada in December of 1925 and within two years set up a great number of Ukrainian dance schools across the country. He twice organized a touring group of his students which performed in a great many rural and urban centres in Eastern and Western Canada. His first tour included performances at Yorkton (August 6th, 1927) and Canora (August 9th) in eastern Saskatchewan. His second touring company stopped in Kamsack (October 6th, 1927) and in Canora a second time (December 5th). Swan Plain was a small community to the north, still without a National Hall or other facility for such events. Avramenko's second touring company

performed at the National Hall in Smoky Lake on November 3rd, 1927.[106]

Larger dance schools were established in Toronto, Thunder Bay, Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Edmonton. Almost immediately, freelance Ukrainian dance teachers (uchyteli) appeared in the rural areas teaching local youth the "real" Ukrainian dances for a quarter a lesson. Such activity lasted several years.[107]

Teachers who later went to Smoky Lake and Swan Plain came into contact with these dances either directly from Avramenko or during their stay at Ukrainian residences (bursy) while studying at teachers' colleges in the cities. School teachers in Ukrainian areas continued to teach the Ukrainians dances to their school children for several decades. Avramenko dances were also a component of the activities of SUMK organizations which were active in Swan Plain from approximately 1930 to 1940[108] and in Smoky Lake for much longer.[109]

The general population looked up to the teachers and other community leaders because of their education and authority. The students learned and accepted Avramenko's perspective and his dances as truly Ukrainian and representative of their own culture. This was so even though some of the dances were quite different than the ones their parents has danced in the old country. Avramenko's dances were modified and more complex than their folkloric sources. Some were derived from folk material of other regions of Ukraine. Hopak kolom, zaporozhets', and honyviter had no precedents in the experience of the Halychany or Bukovynians of Swan Plain and Smoky Lake. In other

Plate 6: Steve Pawliuk's Ukrainian dancing group at Smoky Lake in 1931. The dancers are wearing stage costumes. (From Our Legacy: A History of Smoky Lake and Area, (Smoky Lake: Smoky Lake and District Cultural and Heritage Society, 1983), p. xii.)

dances, such as the arkan, the melody and some of the footwork were recognizable.

These dances are of interest in the present study insofar as they reentered the social dance forum, and were performed by young people at weddings, hall dances, and other social events. Metro Radomsky had played for Avramenko in Edmonton and remembered the entire repertoire when he returned to his mother's farm between Andrew and Smoky Lake.[110] Other bands felt the need to learn at least a few of these special melodies[111] since they were requested of them from time to time. Dances including Avramenko's kolomyika, hopak kolom, kozachok podil's'kyi, kateryna, arkan, and hrechanyky were performed in a social context in the Smoky Lake area from 1927 to approximately 1935. This phenomenon also took place in Swan Plain, though to a lesser degree.[112] After that time, that generation of adolescents had grown up, and it became more difficult to find enough dancers and musicians who remembered the choreography.[113]

NOTES

CHAPTER II: CONTEXTS

A. History of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain

1. Smoky Lake Area

1. As shown by the surnames on the homestead map on pp. 16-26 of Our Legacy.

2. Our Legacy, pp. 1-7, 43-56, and 90-112; William Necyk, "Smoky Lake Municipality During the Depression," in Ukrainians in Alberta, vol. 2 (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers Association of Alberta, 1981), pp. 35-36 and 39-40.

3. Our Legacy, pp. 189-218; Necyk, pp. 36-37 and 39.

4. Our Legacy, pp. 103-07; Necyk, pp. 37-38.

5. Our Legacy, pp.232-43; Necyk, pp. 38-39; Nykola V. Gavinchuk, "Ukrains'kyi narodnyi dim im Tarasa Shevchenka v Smoki Leik, Alta.," [The Ukrainian National Hall Named After Taras Shevchenko in Smoky Lake, Alberta] in Propamiatna knyha ukrains'koho narodnoho domu v Vinnipegu [Anniversary Book of the Ukrainian National Hall in Winnipeg], edited by D. Doroshenko (Winnipeg: Ukrains'kyi Narodnyi Dim, 1949), pp. 672-74.

2. Swan Plain Area

6. Pioneers Settled, pp. 1-7.

7. Ibid., pp. 7-17.

8. Ibid., pp. 30-53, 151-64, 247-55, 321-28 and 388-98.

9. Ibid., pp. 18-24 and others.

3. Community Developments

10. See many passages in Our Legacy and in Pioneers Settled. Many general histories of Ukrainian Canadians have been written. See Mykhailo Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970); Manoly R. Lupul, ed., A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), and many others.

B. Dance Contexts

1. Life Cycle Celebrations

11. Birth and christening rites are described in Shukhevych, ch. 3, pp. 1-10; Antin Onyshchuk, "Z narodnoho zhytia Hutsuliv" [From the Folk Life of the Hutsuls], in Materiialy do ukrains'koi etnol'ogii [Materials on Ukrainian Ethnology], vol. 15, (L'viv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1912), pp. 90-113; and others. Rites associated with death are described in Shukhevych, ch. 3, pp. 241-55; and others.

a) Weddings

12. Shubravs'ka Vesillia; Metropolyt Ilarion, Dokhrystyians'ki viruvannia ukrains'koho narodu [Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Ukrainian People] (Winnipeg: Volyn', 1965), pp. 212-16; Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 101-16.

13. Recorded interview with Sophie Tataryn, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 25, 1983.

14. Unrecorded interview with Ostop Nahachewsky, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 27, 1983. Recorded interview with John Babichuk, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 12, 1984. See also A. Nahachewsky, "The Ukrainian Wedding: A Case Study," Edmonton: 1983. (typewritten).

15. Sophia Tataryn.

16. Recorded interview with Metro Radomsky, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 29, 1984.

17. Interview with Fruzyna Gelech, Andriy Nahachewsky, June 26, 1984.

18. Unrecorded interview with George Hilliuk, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 12, 1984.

19. Recorded interview with Alex Krytor, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 2, 1984.

20. George Hilliuk.

21. Alex Krytor.

22. Recorded interview with Metro Radomsky, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 19, 1984.

23. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 98 and 150; recorded interview with Nick Gelech, Andriy Nahachewsky, June 26, 1984.

24. The author of this study attended a wedding in the village of Rypuzhentsi in Northern Bukovyna in the summer of 1978. The dance was held on the dirt street in front of the couple's home.

25. Nick Gelech, June 26.

26. William Chahley, "Mr. and Mrs. Kost Chahley," Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area (Smoky Lake: Smoky Lake and District Cultural and Heritage Society, 1983), p. 351.

27. Ostop Nahachewsky.

28. Ibid.

29. Metro Radomsky.

30. Ibid.

31. Ostop Nahachewsky.

32. Metro Radomsky.

33. Ostop Nahachewsky, recorded interview with Nick Gelech, Andriy Nahachewsky, June 26, 1984.

34. Ostop Nahachewsky.

35. Ibid., Pioneers Settled, p. 402.

36 Ostop Nahachewsky.

37. Fruzyna Gelech, Metro Radomsky.

38. Our Legacy, p. 237.

39. See Plate 3.

40. Pioneers settled, p. 156.

41. Ibid., p. 251.

42. Nick Gelech, June 26.

43. Telephone interview with Henia Martyniuk, Andriy Nahachewsky, August 27, 1984.

44. Telephone interview with Mike Galay, Andriy Nahachewsky, Summer of 1984.

45. Shubravs'ka, Vesillia.

46. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

47. Metro Radomsky.

48. Ostop Nahachewsky.

2. Calendar Cycle Celebrations

49. Kylymnyk, vols. 1-5; Voropai, vols. 1-2; Shukhevych, ch. 4; Ilarion, pp. 265-313.

50. Voropai, vol. 1, pp. 77-126, Ilarion, pp. 271-80 and Kylymnyk, vol. 1.

51. Christianity was officially adopted in 988 by Volodymyr the Great, however pre-Christian perspectives, rites and practices persisted for centuries, often being incorporated with the Christian system rather than being superceded by it. An East Slavic Law Code forbidding the practice of "playing old idol worshippers' games, dressing in pagan costumes, dancing in the streets, and singing obscene songs..." is quoted in Ilarion, p. 276.

52. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 117-131.

53. Fruzyna Gelech, July 12, Metro Radomsky, recorded interview with Wasyl Zazula, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 12, 1984.

54. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 117-31.

55. Unrecorded interview with Dr. Dmytro Cipywnyk, Andriy Nahachewsky, 1980.

56. Fruzyna Gelech, July 12.

57. Metro Radomsky.

58. Fruzyna Gelech, July 12.

59. Ibid.

60. Ilarion, pp. 276 and 278.

61. Voropai, vol. 1, pp. 135-48; Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 134-36, Kylymnyk, vol. 1, pp. 54-55 and 114-25.

62. Recorded interview with Elizabeth Nickolaychuk, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 12, 1984.

b) Lent and Easter

63. Voropai, vol. 1, pp. 200-07; Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 134-36.

64. Various organizations organized Pushchennia dances in later years as a means of community development and fund raising. See Our Legacy, p. 238.

65. Recorded interview with Katherine Piwowar, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 12, 1984.

66. Kylymnyk, vol. 2; Voropai, vol. 1, pp. 300-04; Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo, pp. 75-89.

67. Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo, pp. 75-89.

68. Elizabeth Nickolaychuk, Metro Radomsky.

69. John Babichuk.

70. See Plate 8. This photograph depicts boys dancing the arkan that was taken at such a social gathering on Easter Sunday of 1929 at the Babichuk home near Cadron. John Babichuk.

71. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 134.

c) Other Feast Days

72. Unrecorded interview with Joe Michalchuk, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 12, 1984.

73. Wasyl Zazula.

3. Non-Ritual Events

a) Outdoor Dances

74. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 99-100, 149-151; Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo, pp. 33-34; Kolberg, p. 1.

75. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

76. Recorded interview with Mary Kurytnik, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 25, 1984, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

77. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

78. Recorded interview with Alena Viteychuk, Andriy Nahachewsky, June 26, 1984.

79. Ibid.

c) Dances in Vacant Houses

80. Recorded interview with Maria Nahachewsky, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 24, 1983, recorded interview with Bill Nahachewsky, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 25, 1983.

81. Unrecorded interview with Helen Kulka, Andriy Nahachewsky, June 26, 1984.

82. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26, Katharina Piwowar.

83. Katherine Piwowar, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

84. Voropai, vol. 1, pp. 39-46; Kylymnyk, vol. 3, pp. 177-85 and vol. 5, pp. 146-55.

d) School Dances

85. Recorded interview with Dmytro Kowch, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 24, 1983.

86. Katharina Piwowar.

87. Maria Nahachewsky, February 24.

88. Mary Kurytnik, Bill Nahachewsky, February 24.

e) Community Hall Dances

89. Pioneers Settled, p. 18.

90. Our Legacy, p. 237.

91. Pioneers Settled, p. 18.

92. Our Legacy, pp. 239-40.

93. Ibid., pp. 232-35.

94. Ibid., p. 237.

95. Allena Viteychuk.

f) Barn Dances

96. Nick Gelech, June 26.

97. Ostop Nahachewsky.

98. Bill Nahachewsky, February 25.

99. Ibid and Pioneers Settled, p. 35.

100. Bill Nahachewsky, February 25.

g) Recent Contexts

101. Metro Radomsky, John Babichuk.

4. Stage Dances

a) Theatrical Productions

102. For a concise English description of theatrical activity in Halychyna and other areas of Ukraine at that time, see V. Haievsky, V. Revutsky, and G. Luzhnytsky, "Theatre," in Ukraine, a Concise Encyclopaedia, Volodymyr Kubijovyč, ed., vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 628-41.

103. The Ukrainian national flag is actually yellow and blue.

104. Henia Martyniuk, "History of Ukrainian Farmers' National Home of Taras Shevchenko: Highland, Alberta," in Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and District (Smoky Lake: Smoky Lake and District Cultural and Historical Society, 1983), p. 234.

105. Dmytro Kowch, Alena Viteychuk.

b) Vasyl' Avramenko and His Repertoire

106. Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions," pp. 217-19.

107. John Babichuk, recorded interview with Jean Babichuk, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 12, 1984.

108. Pioneers Settled, p. 19, Bill Nahachewsky, February 24, 1983.

109. Our Legacy, pp. 260-61.

110. Metro Radomsky.

111. John Babichuk.

112. Bill Nahachewsky.

113. Metro Radomsky, John Babichuk.

CHAPTER III: GROUP DANCE FORMS KNOWN PRIOR TO IMMIGRATION

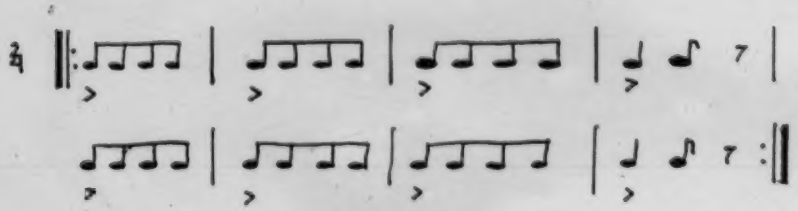
A variety of group dances were brought to Smoky Lake and Swan Plain by immigrants from Ukrainian territories at the turn of the century. These dances included circle-based forms, mens' dances, trio dances, and dances based on the quadrille form.

A. Circle Dances

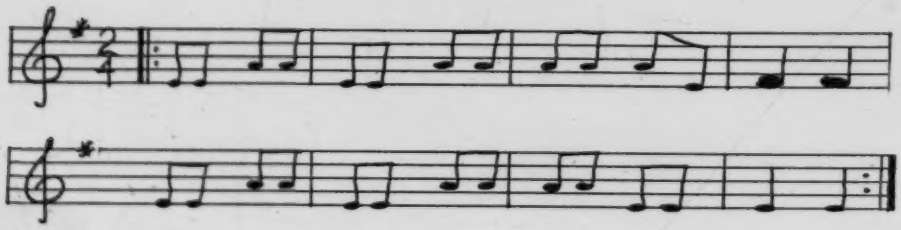
1. Kolomyika

Kolomyika-type dances are one of the oldest and most fundamental groups of dance forms of Western Ukrainian territories at the end of the 19th century.[1] The characteristic rhythm of the kolomyika, its characteristic circular form, and its movement qualities gave rise to a great many variants and related dance forms in Western Ukraine. At that time, the kolomyika was very popular as a musical form, a song type, and as a dance.[2]

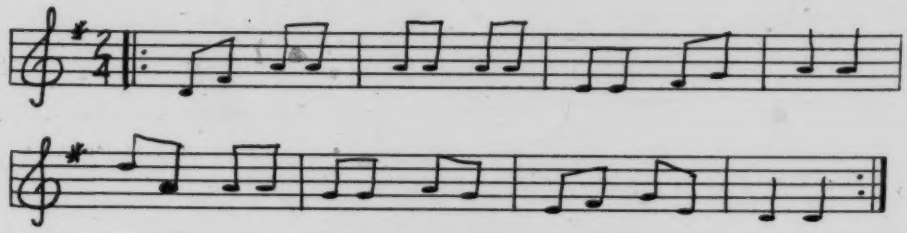
The basic rhythmic pattern defining the kolomyika involved two similar phrases of fourteen beats each.[3]



In practice, of course, slight rhythmic variation was common. A great number of melodic and textual variants of the kolomyika were known in Ukraine[4] and in Canada.[5] Many verses with specific Canadian context and English macaronic elements have been recorded.[6] Kolomyika melodies and verses sung in Smoky Lake included:



Oi plyvu ia po dunaiu I tak sy dumaiu; Nema krashchykh spivanochok IAk u nashim kraiu.	Oh, I float upon the water And think to myself; There are no better little songs Than those in our land.
Oi, na Petra voda tepla, Lyshen' by i pyty. Iakyi Petro soloden'kyi, Lysh by 'ho liubyty.	Oh, on St. Peter's day, the water is warm It is just fine for drinking. Oh, that Peter is so sweet, He's just fine for loving.
Iakyi Petro chornobryvyi Ta iakyi khoroshyi. Sorochyna vyshyvana, Povnyi remin' hroshei.	Oh, that Peter has such dark eyebrows And he is such a good lad. His shirt is embroidered, And his belt is full of money.
Oi, khoroshyi, tai khoroshyi, Khorosho tantsiuie. Popid ruchku ubertaie A v lychko tsiliuie.	Oh, he's good, very good, He dances very well. He turns you under your hand And he kisses you on your face.
Oi, na Ivana zilli rvala, Na Petra sadyla. Mezhy vsimy parubkamy, Petra poliubyla.[7]	Oh, on St. John's day, I gathered herbs, On St. Peter's day, I planted. Of all the boys, I fell in love with Peter.



Kolomyia, Kolomyia, Kolomyia misto. V Kolomyii taki divky Iak pshynychne kisto.	Kolomyia, Kolomyia, Kolomyia is a city. In Kolomyia, the girls are Like white dough made of wheat.
Vony v pole ne khodiat', V doma ne robleni. Vid nedili do nedili Khodia' iak skazheni.	They do not go to the fields, They do not work at home. From Sunday to Sunday They walk around as if they are crazed.
Oi hutsulka, pane-brate, Hutsulka, hutsulka. To sy meni spodobala Divchyna mazurka.	Oh, hutsulka, dear sir, Hutsulka, hutsulka. Oh I took a fancy for The girl from Mazovia.
To sy meni spodobala Divchyna rusiava, Cherez horod vodu nesla Tai ne spochyvala.	Oh I took a fancy for The girl with fair hair, She was carrying water across the garden And she was not resting.
Cherez horod vodu nesla Na koromysel'tse. Dai mi, divcha, vody pyty, Rozvesely sertse.	She was carrying water across the garden With a yoke and two pails. Give me, girl, some water to drink, And gladden my heart.
Meni maty ne kazala Vodu pochynaty. Bo to voda z-za horoda, Khloptsiv charuvaty.[8]	My mother told me not to Start using the water. For it's water from beyond the garden. To be used for charming young men.

Literally hundreds of other verses have been sung in both Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.[9] These verses (spivanky) were sung very often by onlookers and/or the dancers themselves during kolomyiky and other dances. It was common to sing while dancing in the old country[10] and in Canada until approximately World War II.[11] The more restrained aesthetic of "Canadian" society, however, did not reinforce

this practice.[12] This and other factors led dancers to suppress their strong urges to sing for fear of being ridiculed.[13] Language loss also curtails singing among subsequent generations. Since the singers have little opportunity to sing, the kolomyika verses are gradually being forgotten.[14]

In regards to choreographic form, at least three major types of kolomyiky were known in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain. One type of kolomyika was performed only by men. The second and much more common type was performed in a small circle of men and women. The third, more modern type of kolomyika, involved a large circle of dancers and featured special soloists performing in its center.

a) Kolomyika - First Type

The mens' kolomyika was identified only briefly by informants from Swan Plain.[15] It was apparently performed in that community in its earlier period of settlement. The basic formation of this dance was a closed circle of male dancers. The specific steps and figures were not clearly remembered, though the dance most likely included spinning the circle in one direction then the other, as well as squatting steps - haiduky.[16] A haiduk was performed by bending the knees a full 170° to lower the center of gravity. The torso remained erect. After a small hop on the balls of both feet, the dancer rose again to standing position. It was also possible to perform multiple haiduky by hopping any number of times to the beat of the music while in the haiduk position.

b) Kolomyika - Second Type

The second type of kolomyika, danced by both men and women, was by far more common. In Swan Plain, this was the most popular dance form of the immigrant generation.[17] It was danced frequently at weddings, in house parties, and at school dances.[18] By the 1940s, the kolomyika was rarely if ever danced at public events such as barn dances,[19] though it was still relatively common at weddings and other more private functions until approximately the 1960s. Kolomyiky of this type are still occasionally performed in the Swan Plain area at weddings and anniversaries.[20] The majority population of Halychany appreciated that the Bukovynians did not perform the kolomyika in the same way as they did, though they could not identify specifically how this was so.[21]

The kolomyika was not as popular among the Bukovynians of Smoky Lake as it was in Swan Plain. They were familiar with the dance, however, and continue to perform it on occasion even today.[22] The majority Bukovynian population in Smoky Lake considered the kolomyika more characteristic of the few Halychany in their midst.[23] Those Halychany agreed with this observation, noting that the Bukovynians prefered dances such as the hutsulka and toporivs'ka.[24]

The kolomyika-second type was danced in a number of different variations. The most common variant involved a circle of four dancers, alternating male and female. On certain occasions, the dance was done by groups of six or eight.[25] The dance contained two, three or four figures. Facing the centre of the circle, the dancers each extended their arms behind their neighbour's backs and grasped

the hands of the person opposite them.[26] This arm position was also common in Western Ukraine, where it was called a "hrebinka" (comb).[27] Alternately, the dancers sometimes may have simply held hands[28] or held shoulders in this dance.[29]

The dancers remained in this position during the first figure of the kolomyika and travelled first in one direction, then in the other. The footwork has not been specifically verified, and it seems that more than one type of travelling step may have been used by different dancers or by one dancer at different times.[30] In either case, the steps were performed smoothly (rivno).[31] The step most commonly used likely consisted of stepping with the right foot across to the left, then lifting the left foot and reestablishing a normal stance. When this crossing-over was repeated, the dancers moved sideways to the left. The movement could also be performed to the right.[32]

The second figure of the kolomyika involved continued spinning in the circle. The dancers held on more tightly and moved as fast as they could. The men often attempted to lift the women completely off the floor so that centrifugal force would send their legs and feet floating backwards in the air.[33] This formation and choreographic figure also existed in Western Ukraine.[34]

In his work on the Pokuttia region from 1888, O. Kolberg noted that the women were lifted by the men in the dance or sometimes themselves jumped into the air.[35] In Canada, however, some of the more restrained and delicate women often attempted to resist becoming airborne. In order to be successful in her resistance, a woman needed to know the secret of keeping her center of gravity low and to the center of the circle.36 In most instances though, the larger and

stronger men did succeed in lifting the women.[37] On occasion, the efforts to create this balanced arrangement ended with the performers toppling over each other on the floor.[38]

Figure 1: A flying figure performed in Western Ukrainian dances. The second figure of the kolomyika.(Figure 68 in Andrii Humeniuk, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi [Ukrainian Folk Dances], (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1968), p. 51.)

An optional third figure, performed in Swan Plain but apparently not in Smoky Lake, involved the dancers releasing their hands and the men performing haiduky. Details of this figure were not clearly defined.

The women may have danced a polka step, spun around by themselves,[39] or performed some other step. It is not clear whether the dancers necessarily held hands at this time. The haiduky may have been performed in phrases of four, individually, or consecutively for the duration of the entire figure. It is also possible that only one or two haiduky were executed at the end of the first and second figures to mark the moments of transition.[40]

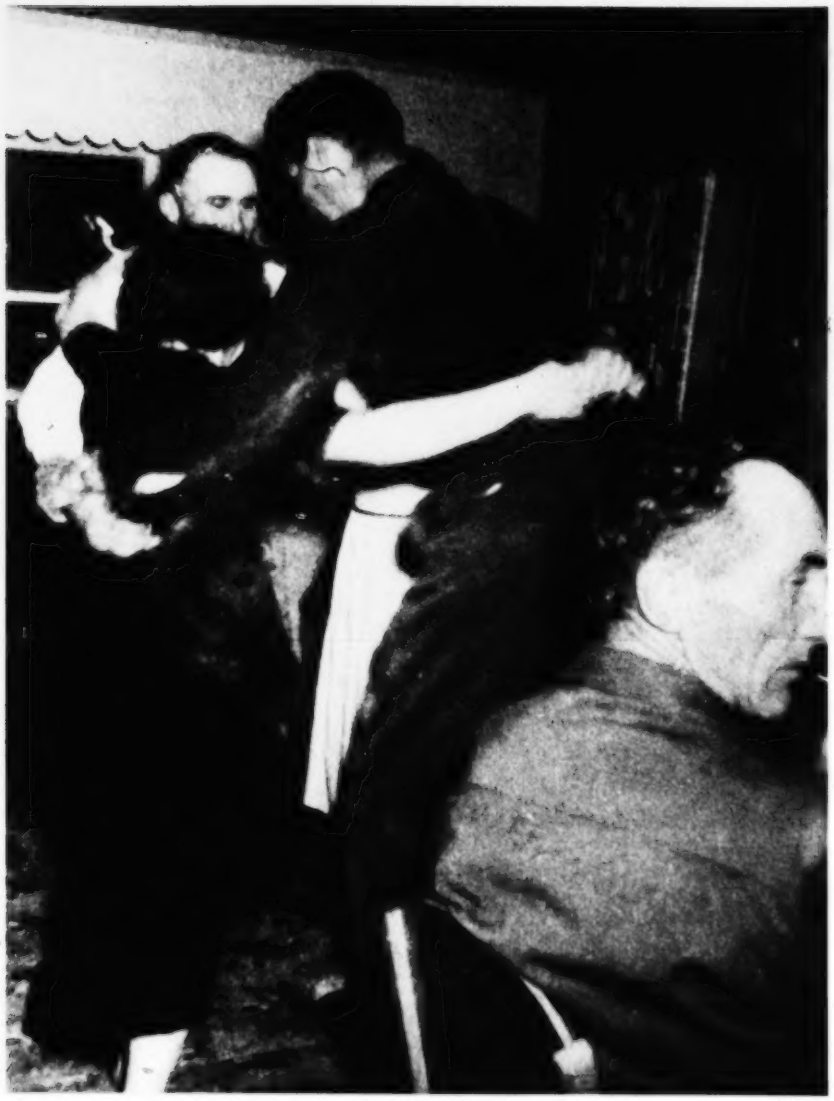


Plate 7: A kolomyika danced in a house during a party near Smoky Lake. The dancers are Ann Sapach, John Perepeluk, Lena Ginetz, and Fred Naclia. (From Pioneers Settled, p. 320.)

A variant of the kolomyika was described in the context of rural school dances north of Smoky Lake from 1910 to the 1940s. The first two figures of this kolomyika were similar to those of the dance described above. In the third figure, the circle broke up and the dancers joined into couples and danced the polka.[41]

A third variation of this type of the kolomyika continues to be performed in Smoky Lake at certain weddings. The performers include rurally based people, usually 25 years of age and older. The kolomyika is usually danced during the presentation ceremony (in the hour-or-so break when the guests line up to congratulate the newlyweds and present their gifts). It is also sometimes performed after or during an "old style" set, when the band plays the butterfly, the heel-and-toe polka, and other dances. The dance is always performed late in the evening when the "heat of the action" has caught up with the guests and they "let loose" a little. The number of dancers varies from as few as four to as many as eighteen, though the average kolomyika involves ten or twelve participants. They form a circle, grasp shoulders, and travel in one direction and the other, moving as fast as they can. The men sometimes lift the women off the floor. Occasionally one of the dancers ventures into the center of the circle to perform haiduky, prysiadky, holubchyky, a spin, or some other solo.[42]

c) Kolomyika - Third Type

A third type of kolomyika dance evolved into its present form more recently. It evolved from similar folk forms, though its third figure has been significantly affected by theatrical Ukrainian dance activity.

Any number of dancers joined hands to form a large circle and travel around it with the basic polka step. The dancers then turned around and travel in the opposite direction. In the second figure, the dancers rushed into the centre of the circle with their arms up and forward, then retreated to stretch the circle again. This figure could be repeated several times, the dancers shouting and screaming as they pushed inwards each time. In practice, the kolomyika was generally initiated by a small group of people, and the number of participants grew during the first and second figures. The circle often became distorted as new dancers joined in and some people moved more aggressively than the rest.[45]

After this, the dancers let go of their hands, stood on one spot and clapped while individuals or groups of dancers took turns performing "solos" in the centre. (The term "solos" is used even when they are performed by more than one dancer.) The performers improvised from a large stock of possible movements considered to be "Ukrainian dance steps." The "solos" varied with each dancer and with each performance. They were performed in no particular order. With a number of capable and willing soloists, such kolomyiky sometimes continued for twenty minutes or more.[44] The circle of people clapping often develops two or three rows deep as more onlookers join in to clap and watch the soloists in the centre.

The movement lexicon for the "solo" steps in the fourth figure was quite varied and has increased dramatically in the past two decades with the development of technical expertise and virtuosity of trained dancers from theatrical groups. In large urban centres such as Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg, the difficulty of many steps and

the sense of competition has limited participation almost exclusively to young trained dancers from the major performing ensembles. In the 1960s and 70s, however, the general population still felt they could contribute, and participants over forty years of age were not uncommon. This process of specialization proceeded at slower rate in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake, though there, too, the third type of kolomyika is now performed mostly by trained dancers from the Holubka dance ensemble of Smoky Lake[45] or from the city who have come to attend a wedding or anniversary in these rural areas.[46]

A remnant of the third type of kolomyika or its predecessor can sometimes be seen at weddings in Smoky Lake, linked with a tradition of sending off the bride and groom. Before they leave, the couple stands in the centre of the hall while the guests form a large circle around them. They link their crosssed arms and sway left and right as they sing "De zhoda v rodyni" (Where There is Understanding in the Family). This song is a traditional prayer and blessing for peace, love and prosperity for the newly formed family. At that point, the guests sometimes rush forward to the couple at the centre of the circle, then recede again to their places. The advance towards the couple is often accompanied by screams and shouts.[47] It is reminiscent of the third figure in the kolomyika.

The "solo" element of the kolomyika began evolving prior to the 20th century in Western Ukraine. In these dances,

> ...one couple steps out from the circle into its centre, or outside in front of the musicians...This solo...is danced by a couple which demonstrates exceptional technical skills. Sometimes it happens that a dancer with less technical ability wants to show himself in front of the musicians...and through his lack of skill propagates general gaiety.[48]

Similar dances existed in the repertoire of North American Ukrainian immigrants in the 1920s.

> The Ukrainian dances would be done mostly to Kolomyjka tunes we all know. A big circle would form, with no partners and whoever wanted to would go in the middle and improvise in the centre. The big circle moved left or right with a basic step. Sometimes if the middle dancers were extremely good the circle would stop and dancers would clap in place and call encouragingly to the dancers in the centre of the circle. The centre dancers could be a solo dancer, a couple or a threesome.[49]

Three staged forms of the kolomyika existed in the repertoire of Vasyl' Avramenko, the famous dance master. These were likely taught in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake after 1927.[50] They did not include improvised solos. However, another popular Avramenko dance, hopak kolom, ended with exactly such a figure.[51] It is likely that the dance steps learned for hopak kolom were performed during kolomyiky after that time.

2. Hutsulka

The hutsulka was a dance form related to the kolomyika.[52] This dance had merged with the kolomyika and did not exist as a separate form in the minds of the Halychany in Swan Plain.[53] In Smoky Lake, however, the dance remained a clear identity, and was in fact, one of the two most common dances when the immigrants first arrived. It remained very popular among the immigrant generations into the 1930s, though by this time, younger dancers considered it an "old time dance."[54] Several people in Smoky Lake can and do still enjoy the hutsulka, and it is played occasionally on request by Radomsky's band when he plays there.[55]

The general phrasing and rhythm of the hutsulka were similar enough to the kolomyika that kolomyika-type verses could be and were sung during the hutsulka. This is seen in the eighth kolomyika verse recorded above, which makes specific reference to the hutsulka. The first section of the hutsulka was played in a kolomyika rhythm. The melody changed in the second half of the dance to one of a kozachok rhythm. These two sections in the music did not necessarily correspond with the alternation of the choreographic figures.[56] The tempo of the hutsulka was very fast.[57] Though many dancers perceived the hutsulka as quite closely related to the kolomyika, they appreciated that the dance movements were slightly different.[58]

The first figure of the hutsulka was danced in small circles of two or four dancers. The practice of dancing in couples became more common in recent times.[59] When danced as a foursome, two men and two women, the dancers held hands behind their neighbours' backs in the same method as for the kolomyika. The circle of dancers spun in one direction, then in the other. In contrast to the kolomyika, the dancers feet stamped quite loudly on the floor. The leading foot was placed down with the whole foot touching the floor. The trailing foot, often slightly behind, contacted the floor only with the ball of the foot.[60] Stepping in this way, the dancers bodies moved up and down continuously.[61] Changing direction and/or the end of the figure was generally marked by a series of stamps, executed by the men.[62] If this first figure of the hutsulka was performed by a couple, the dancers would spin quite quickly. The man held his partner by the waist with each hand. The woman held her partner also by the waist, or possibly on his shoulders.[63] This figure was

continued until the dancers were tired.

An optional resting step existed for the hutsulka. If they were grouped in a foursome, the dancers split up into couples at this time. Facing each other, the dancers held hands and leaned onto one foot, then the other, shifting their weight back and forth. Each step was taken slightly to the side. During the pause between steps, the raised foot gestured towards the supporting foot before it, in turn, moved out to the side. In this way, the dancers moved to the beat of the music for a short while until they were rested. After that, they joined into their groups again and began spinning with the first figure. The dancers, especially the men, often sang kolomyika verses during this second figure.[64]

The hutsulka was the most widespread dance in the Hutsul area in the first half of this century. Harasymchuk identified a process wherein the circular form of the hutsulka was disintegrating in favor of paired couples. This breakdown of the circle was also occurring Smoky Lake. The choreographic structure of the circle in the first figure breaking into couples in the second figure represented a newer form of the hutsulka.[65] Dancing a hutsulka entirely in independent couples represented a further and final development in this process. This variant was not uncommon in many areas of Western Ukraine.[66]

3. Toporivs'ka

The toporivs'ka was the most popular dance of the Smoky Lake Bukovynians who had emigrated from the village of Toporivtsi.[67] Immigrants from that area remembered that it was by far the most

popular and almost the only dance known in that area at the turn of the century.[68] This dance was also known by the Rumanian population which settled around Willingdon, where it was known as rumunka.[69] The dance was not known in certain areas settled by other Bukovynians nor in settlements populated by Halychany.[70]

The dance toporivs'ka was known by a variety of names, including toporivs'ka za horba,[71] rymunka, rumunka, rus'ka, rus'kyi tanets',[72] ho cha cha,[73] and voloshka.[74] The name toporivs'ka literally meant "the one from Toporivtsi."[75] "Toporivs'ka za horba" was related to a popular verse that was sung in accompaniment to the dance:

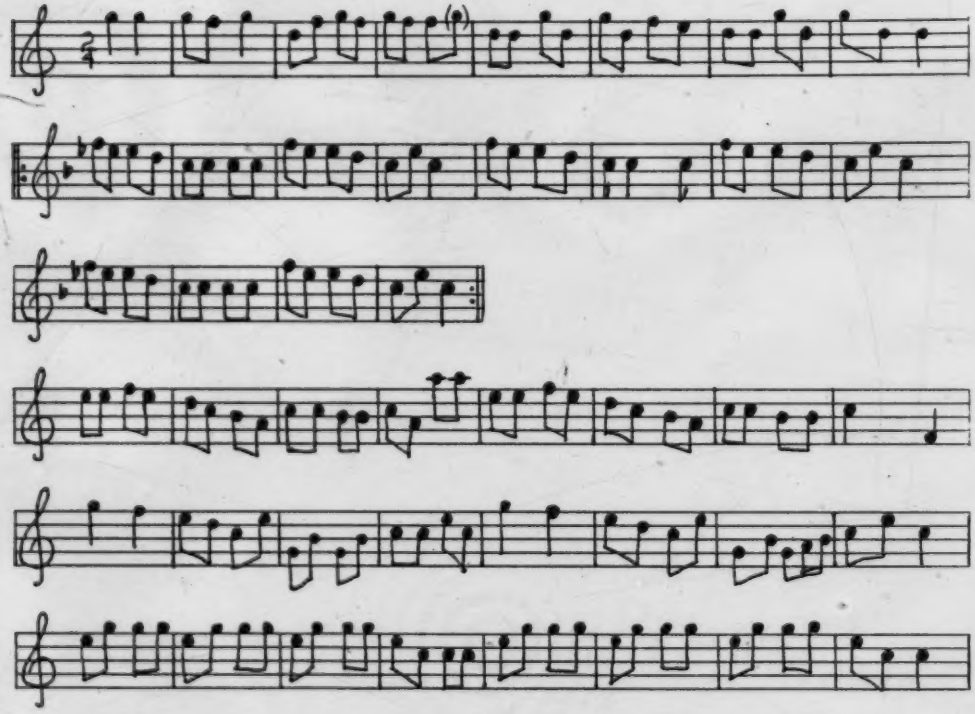
Toporivs'ka za horba,[76]	Toporivs'ka beyond the hill,
Moia zhinka moloda...	I have a young wife...

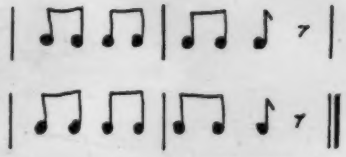
The name ho cha cha likely related to syllables sung or shouted to emphasize the rhythm and phrasing of the music. The names rumunka, voloshka, rus'ka, and rus'kyi tanets' referred to specific peoples, namely Rumanians, (also called Wallachians) and Ukrainians (often called "Rusyny" or "Rusnaky"). The first two terms identified the dance as being a Rumanian dance. The terms rus'ka and rus'kyi tanets', however, associated the dance specifically to the Ukrainian population of the given area.

Toporivs'ka remained popular for a long time especially among the immigrant generation of Bukovynians. It was danced often at weddings and other functions. The dance was learned by the Canadian-born generation and by other people whose ancestry was not from Toporiwtsi.[77] By the 1920s and 1930s, it was identified as an "older dance" and played rarely in the Narodnyi dim, where "modern

dances" were in the vogue. Toporivs'ka, however, continued to be danced at functions where the older generation attended, and remains in the repertoire of the Radomsky band and certain Smoky Lake seniors to the present.[78]

One of the reasons for the number of different names for the dance may be that the toporivs'ka resulted from the merging of two or more dances. Though the dances were not differentiated in terms of choreography, and though certain musicians claimed they were all the same,[79] others felt that the music for a rumunka was different than for the toporivs'ka,[80] and different from the rus'ka as well.[81]



Though verses were sung to the melodies of the toporivs'ka, this was not as important a feature of the dance as in the kolomyika.[82] The verse toporivs'ka za horba quoted above contained seven syllables in each line.

The dance toporivs'ka was performed by one group consisting of a number of couples. To begin the dance, the partners each stood side by side, the woman to her partner's right. The man's right hand joined with the woman's left. Both of these arms were bent sharply at the elbows and were held near the dancers' inside shoulders. The free arms hung down at the dancers' sides.[83] The women sometimes held their skirts out slightly with their right hands.[84]

With each couple standing in this position, the couples lined up along the circumference of the dancing area, facing counterclockwise in a circle. The size of the circle depended upon the number of couples dancing. In most cases, the couples formed a full circle and each followed the couple in front of it.[85] Sometimes one couple was designated as the leader, and the other couples formed an incomplete circle as they followed.[86]

The couples moved forward slowly with a triple step. On the first eighth note, they each stepped with their right foot, on the second eighth they stepped with their left, on the next quarter beat, they stepped onto their right foot. This sequence was repeated each measure of the music, alternating with the left or right first.[87] The women

moved quietly and softly, nearly sliding their feet along the ground. The men, in contrast, lifted their feet and stamped them in time with the music as they danced.[88]

Though the circle moved counterclockwise in most cases, the dancers may have sometimes turned around and performed the first figure in a clockwise direction as well. This change in direction likely was related to an appropriate command by the leading dancer.[89]

In the second figure of the toporivs'ka, the partners turned to face each other. They joined their free hands so that each dancer held both arms sharply bent at the elbows. Their hands were thus positioned in front of them near the height of their shoulders. The partners remained in this position and turned around each other for the duration of the second figure, stepping with an even rhythm on each foot as they danced.[90] In other variants of the toporivs'ka, the second figure likely consisted of each couple holding each other by the waist and spinning around as they did in couples during the kolomyika or hutsulka[91] In some cases, the spinning couples performed the second figure in only one direction. In others, the dancers would change the direction of their spin at a certain point.[92] Once the two figures were completed, the dancers repeated them and continued as long as the music played.[93] The quality of movement in toporivs'ka was light and soft in comparison to the kolomyika and hutsulka. The latter two dances were performed more strongly and energetically.[94]

Harasymchuk identified two groups of Rumanian dances in the repertoire of the Hutsuly. The second of these was structurally related to the Rumanian hora and consisted of two main figures. The dancers typically moved forward in pairs during the first figure,

whereas the second was characterized by fast turns.[95] These dances, furthermore, were called rumunka and voloshka in various areas.[96] Such dances were known in Bukovyna.[97] Such hora variants in Hutsul'shchyna were very similar to the Smoky Lake toporivs'ka.[98]

B. Mens' Dances

A number of dances in the repertoire of Ukrainians in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain were performed specifically by men. These dances fell into two groups in terms of their structure. The first group, including the arkan, serban, karaban and kopirushka involved three or more men aligned in a row or a circle. The second type of men's dances were individualistic in nature, with a man improvising with a partner or alone. This second group included the kozak and shuba.

Specifically mens' steps such as stamping hard and prysiadky (steps with deep-knee bends) were characteristic of mens' dances. They required a good deal of strength and stamina and were perceived as positive qualities in the dances of the men.

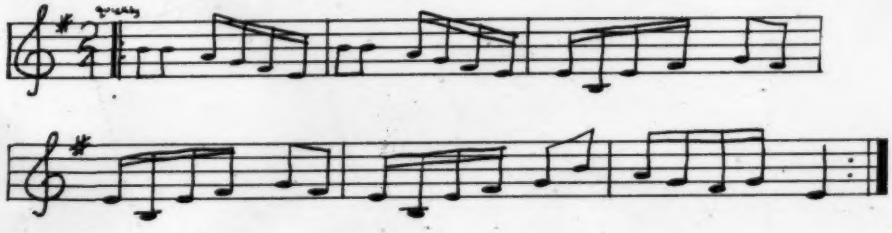
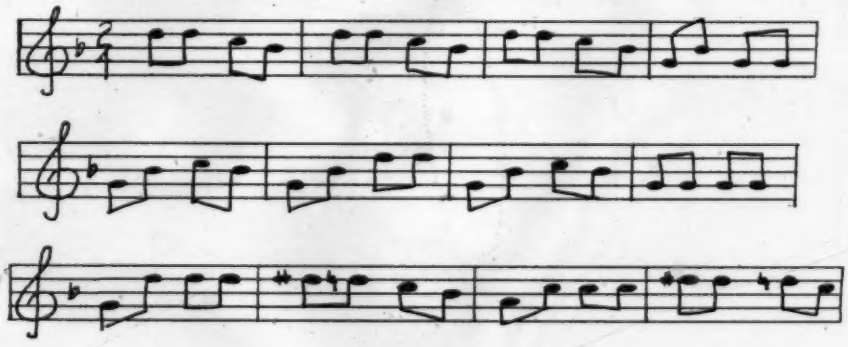
In isolated cases, women joined in in mens' dances. The daughters of William Anoneychuk, for example performed the karaban, arkan and kozak in the Swan Plain area.[99] These girls were healthy, strong and extroverted ("rozvynni"). They may have been prompted to dance in mens' roles during their involvement in cultural organizations and organized dance lessons in Swan Plain,[100] though they enjoyed participating in mens' dances in social contexts as well.[101] The idea of women dancing arkan and other men's dances was not unheard of in Western Ukraine in the first part of this century.[102]

1. Arkan

The arkan was a mens' dance performed in a semicircle or a circle. The dance was common in Bukovyna and in Hutsul'shchyna at the turn of the century. It was known in many other parts of Halychyna as well, but not everywhere.[103] It was known in both Swan Plain and in Smoky Lake by the immigrant generation. The dance was performed at weddings and other events.[104] The dance was also called "harkan," a dialectal form of arkan.[105] The popularity of the arkan was reinforced by the introduction of a stage version of the dance by Avramenko and his students in the 1920s and 1930s.[106] This stage version was taught to the younger generation of dancers.[107] The two variants of the arkan reinforced and merged into each other. The older generation's arkan was absorbed into the newer form, with its several new steps and figures. The Avramenko variant on the other hand, spread more clearly into the social dance repertoire. The dance was performed in this context until the 1930s[108] and on rare occasions in Smoky Lake into the 1960s.[109]

In Swan Plain, Harry Tyzhuk taught the arkan to his SUMK group in the early 1930s. Peter Polowich was the usual leader of the arkan from that time because he was musically inclined, he liked the dance, he remembered the figures, and he could keep the rest of the boys in rhythm with him.[110] The dance was often started with a call "anu arkana khloptsi!" (Hey, boys, the arkan!)[111]

The musical form of the arkan was quite unlike many other dances of the area because it was built on phrases of six rather than the standard four. The basic melodic form of the arkan was as

follows:[112]

The arkan was danced almost exclusively to this melody after 1927, as it was the tune prescribed for the Avramenko arkan.[113] Though this melody was likely most popular prior to the arrival of Avramenko as well, other variants or melodies were also played.[114] A second melody that was relatively popular was accompanied by short verses:

Arkan dudka,
Sravsia tutka,
Vziav na grali,
Ponis dali.[115]

Arkan "the dummy,"
Shit himself here,
Took it on a pitch fork,
Carried it further.

This popular verse was longest remembered likely because of its risqué fecal theme. Another verse starting "Arkan bidnyi" (Arkan, the poor one) and other verses were known in both Swan Plain and Smoky Lake.[116] The phrasing of this melody in fours suggests assimilation to the other dance songs in the peoples' repertoires.[117]

The arkan was performed by a row, semicircle, or circle of men holding shoulders. The "leader" of the dance, situated at the right end of the group, called out various "commands" instructing the dancers as to what figures were to be performed and when.[118] A large number of figures and variants were known in various areas of Western Ukraine. At any given place and time, the arkan consisted of two to six different figures, each being performed in alternation with the basic arkan step.[119] Some of the steps performed in the arkan were similar to those in other dances. Others were characteristic of this dance only.

The arkan was initiated by the command "pishov!" (Go!) in the last measure before the new melodic phrase began. This command was used again throughout the dance at certain times when the basic step was to be executed.[120] The basic arkan step was performed in three measures; six quarter beats. The dancers first stepped strongly to the right with their right foot. On the second quarter beat, they moved the left foot behind the right and stepped onto it. On the third quarter beat, the dancers stepped to the right again with the right foot. During the fourth quarter note, the dancers hopped slightly on their right foot, lifting their left forward and to the right. On the fifth beat, the dancers stepped left onto the left foot, and on the sixth beat, they hopped slightly on the left foot, lifting their right into the air forward and crossing to the left. This basic step was then repeated, continuously moving the line of dancers to the right.

The figures and specific steps performed in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain prior to 1927 are obscured by the superimposition of new figures from the Avramenko dance.[121] The earlier dances were simpler than

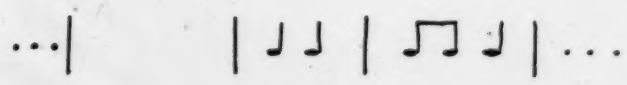
Plate 8: Boys performing an arkan in front of Babichuk's house near Vilna, Alberta at Easter, 1929. The dancers are Bill Ostafichuk, Steve Lastiwka, Metro Babichuk, John Ostafichuk and John Babichuk. They had learned the Avramenko choreography from Johnny Ostashek. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, accn. no. PH 84.1.190.)

the Avramenko form. They likely included the basic step as well as stamping steps[122] and _haiduky_.[123]

Performances of the _arkan_ after 1927 (if the dancers had learned Avramenko's choreography) attempted to follow Avramenko's prescribed movements as faithfully as possible. With influence from the old forms, changes in participants, gaps in memory, and personal reinterpretation however, it was inevitable that the order and content of the figures changed in time. The most lasting of the figures in this included _prybyi_, _haiduk_, and _bat'ko spyt'_.

The _prybyi_ step, a stamp, existed in several forms, each a variant of the basic _arkan_ step. It too was performed to six quarter beats. The footwork of the first measure (two quarter beats) and the third measure (fifth and sixth quarter beats) was identical to the _arkan_ step. Differences occured only in the second measure (third and fourth quarter beats). The first variant of the _prybyi_ step followed the command "_raz prybyi!_" (Stamp once!). When they heard this command, the dancers executed a loud and hard stamp with the right foot on the third quarter beat of the next _arkan_ step. The second variant, following "_dva prybyi!_" (Stamp twice!) involved loud stamps of the right foot on each of the third and fourth quarter beats. "_Try prybyi!_" (Stamp three times!) was followed by three stamps in the second measure. The right foot hit the ground on two eighth beats and a quarter beat during this measure.[124] Stamping was considered an exciting and positive quality in mens' dancing in both Swan Plain and Smoky Lake. In the _arkan_ and in other dances, men liked to stamp very loud so that they would almost "break the floor with their boots."[125]

The haiduk step was performed either in combination with the prybyi or separately. One haiduk, a squatting step, was executed after the command "haiduk raz!" (haiduk once!). The haiduk step was commonly followed by a stamping combination of "dva velyki, try mali!" (Two big ones and three little ones!), creating a rhythm of two quarter beats, two eighth notes, and a quarter note:



This combination of haiduk and prybyi together lasted three measures, the same time as a basic arkan step. It could therefore be performed without disrupting the phrasing of the dance.[126]

Similarly, two haiduky were performed after the command "haiduk dva!" (haiduk, twice!), and three after "haiduk try!" (haiduk, three times!). The steps were followed by a single strong stamp or some combination of stamps to fill in the remainder of the phrase as necessary.[127] The haiduk could, in fact, be performed any number times as commanded by the leader.[128]

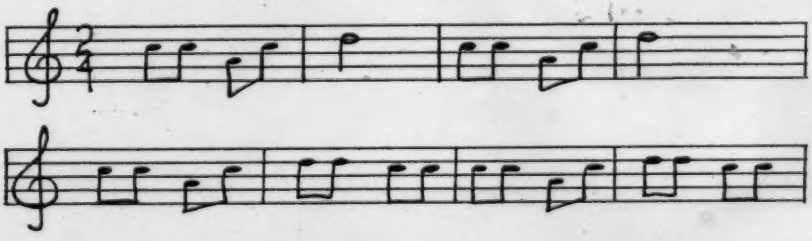
The step "haiduk krut'!" (turned haiduk!) was a variant of the haiduk wherein the dancers twisted their torsos so that their knees were directed to one side on the first quarter beat as they lowered their bodies, and to the other side on the second quarter beat as they rose. Haiduk krut' could also be performed singly, or in any number of repetitions as commanded by the leader.[129]

The command "bat'ko spyt'!" (Father is sleeping!) initiated a special figure in which the dancers tip-toed the basic arkan step, suggesting that they were trying to dance as quietly as possible so as not to wake up their father. After the next command, "Bat'ko vstav!" (Father has arisen!), the dancers continued the basic step, but loudly and energetically.[130]

Other figures and steps known in the arkan included pidkivka, (clicking of the heels in the air), tropachok, (a stamping rhythm), and zminy large steps crossing the legs over.[131]

2. Serban

The melody and words to the dance serban or serbyn were known in Smoky Lake and apparently in Swan Plain.



Oi arkane, arkanochku,	Oh, Arkan, dear Arkan,
Voz'my mene za zhinochku.	Take me for a wife.
Oi ne voz'mu, bo sia boiu,	Oh, I won't take you, for I fear,
Maiesh brata nad soboiu.	You have a brother above you.
Otets', maty, vsia rodyna,	A father, mother, a whole family
A ia bidnyi syrotyna.[132]	But I am a poor orphan.

Though the first line of the text refered to arkan in the given performance, the song and melody were clearly that of a serban.[133] The arkan and serban were closely associated and even merging at the turn of the century in parts of Western Ukraine.[134] It is not clear

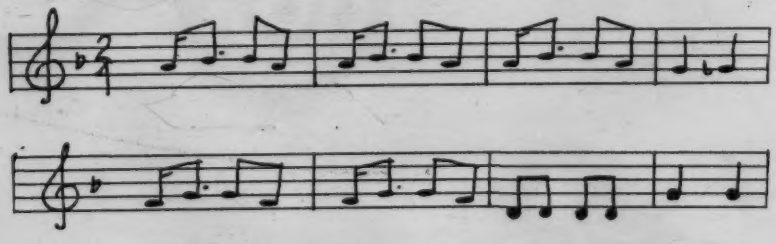
whether the serban was danced in Smoky Lake or Swan Plain as an independent entity, or whether the words and melody were merged with the choreographic figures of the arkan.

The serban had originally been a ritual dance, performed at Christmas carolling dances and sometimes at weddings. It eventually lost this ritual character and was performed as a normal social dance for some time before it disappeared or merged with the arkan. Both dances were mens' dances, performed by travelling sideways in a semicircle or circle. These dances had relatively similar rhythmic and melodic structures.[135]

3. Karaban

A dance named karaban was remembered by a number of Swan Plain informants. The dance was specifically associated with the Bukovynian minority there who immigrated around 1918. Mike Belous had a reputation for liking this dance very much and for teaching it to his friends. In this way, non-Bukovynians learned it as well. It was danced in Swan Plain into the 1930s.[136]

The melody of the karaban was approximately as follows:



Kide ia sy [?] mezhi rodil	[?] was born
Kide kadil [?] stryiny	[?]
Kide ia sy upodobil	Where I gained the favour
Svoi Hanusyni.[137]	Of my Hanusia.

The non-Ukrainian origin of the dance remained evidend in the non-Ukrainian vocabulary of much of the text.

The karaban was a male dance, similar in character to the arkan. The steps and music, however, were slightly different.[138] It is not clear whether this dance was related to the serban or not.[139] Only one example of a melody called "carabaseşte" was found in Rumanian sources to suggest a Rumanian origin for this dance.[140]

4. Kopirushka

Kopirushka was a dance-game performed by men in Smoky Lake and area. It was played into the 1930s by various bands, including the Radomsky group. Though the dance was only very loosely related to the music, it was accompanied by one specific melody.[141] The game was played by a group of men, often about ten people. In order to begin kopirushka the men chose a "captain" and lined up behind him in a row. The leader or captain required a strap, often the leather belt from his pants. Kopirushka proceeded in a follow-the-leader fashion, with the captain jumping and dancing about the room. Each follower had to perform the same movements as the leader or he would be punished by a blow on the backside with the strap. The captain made the dance interesting by performing a variety of feats. He would sometimes sit on the floor for example, or kiss one of the ladies present, then watch to see if each of the followers did the same. Occasionally, his activities became quite ribald. Such actions were sure to animate the women and start them screaming at the top of their lungs. These gestures, too, were more likely to provide the

opportunity for a few whallops with the strap.[142] The dance never failed to provoke general laughter and to liven up a social gathering.

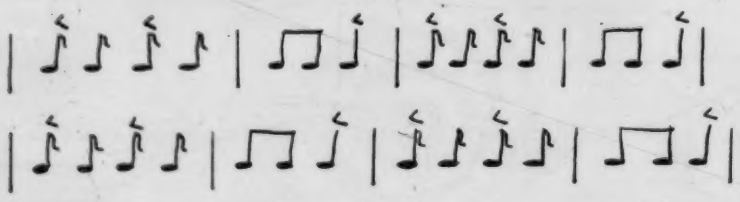
No particular person in Smoky Lake was renowned as a leader in kopirushka. The dance was generally known in the area and the alternation of captains added variety and novelty to the dance and its movements. Kopirushka was apparently not widespread in the Hutsul region of Ukraine.[143]

5. Kozak

The terms kozak and kozachok were used almost interchangably in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake, though the informant in each case was describing one of two different dances.[144] The dances kozak and kozachok were also not clearly differentiated in Ukrainian territories, though they were, in fact, historically different.[145] The kozak was one of the oldest forms of kozachok-type dances that spread into Western Ukraine. It was danced usually by two men. The kozachok, on the other hand, was a more recent kozachok-type dance. It was characterized by denser musical rhythms and integration of women as equal dancing partners.[146] The term "kozak" then, is used in this study to denote the mens' dance and "kozachok" is used in describing the mixed couple dance (dealt with in Chapter IV, below).

The kozak was danced in several variants in Smoky Lake. It was known as an old traditional form brought by immigrants from Ukraine.[147] Mr. Harry Leseniuk, an immigrant from Central Ukraine after World War I, was known as a good dancer. He and other men performed this dance at weddings and other functions.[148] Peter

Popowich and his father also had a reputation for doing the kozak. Peter is now one of the few kozak dancers left in Smoky Lake. He dances the kozak on rare occasions at senior citizens' dances and other events.[149]

Musically, the kozak was characterized by a kozachok-type rhythmic structure. This type of song was based upon one of two rhythmic forms.[150]

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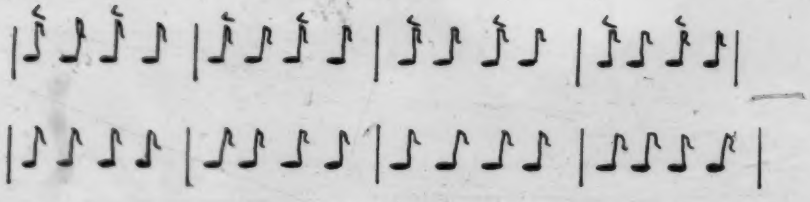


A number of kozak melodies were known in Ukraine[151] and in Western Canada.[152]

When dancing a kozak, the men performed a variety of steps. The kozak was likened to a jig[153] and a tap dance[154] because of the variety of quick movements, jumps, and stamps. The men stamped the balls of their feet to the floor in various rhythms with the music.[155]

In one step that was likely performed in the kozak, the dancers hopped onto both feet, then onto the right, then onto both, then their left. They continued to jump and alternate their feet in this manner, kicking out their free foot in time with the music.[156] Another type of step was done in which the dancer moved his feet backwards[157] and slid them up under himself ("pidsuvaty").[158] The kozak also involved prysiadky executed by the dancers.[159]

The kozak was danced most often by two men facing each other. Especially in more recent times when the number of initiated kozak dancers decreased, the dance was sometimes performed by a single man on the dance floor.[160] On other occasions, a man started into the kozak while dancing a polka with a female partner. In these latter instances, the kozak became similar in form to the kozachok.

The kozak existed in several structural types in Hutsul'shchyna. It was danced sometimes in pairs and also in rows and in a circle. The paired forms were the oldest structural type.[161] The circular type of dances increased in popularity in Hutsul'shchyna as a result of influence from a great many other circle dances in that area.[162] In Smoky Lake, this evolution did not continue, but rather the old paired form remained popular. The evolution into a solo dance resulted from specific characteristics in the Smoky Lake context (namely the eventual lack of dancers).

6. Shuba

Informants from Swan Plain remembered a dance called shuba which was enjoyed especially by Carl Pelechaty. Pelechaty had spent time in

Poland and the shuba was considered a Polish dance.[163] On occasions, especially once when he was dancing a polka with Hann'ka Vasylyniuk, Carl would step away from his partner and perform a variety of partially improvised jumps, prysiadky (or haiduky) and other movements. He would lower his hands and slap the sides of his boots at certain points in the dance.[164] During that time, focus would be centered upon him. His partner, smiling in appreciation of his virtuosity moved more reservedly to the rhythm of the music until the music ended, or until Carl ended his display and took her back to polka for the rest of the dance. It was considered flattering for the man to dance in this way for his partner. She and other dancers enjoyed his performance.[165]

C. Trio Dances

At least one dance form, the verkhovyna, was danced in trios by the subjects of this study. A dance called the motylyk was also identified, though it may have simply been another name for the verkhovyna or for the related "butterfly" dance. The verkhovyna and motylyk (if it existed as a separate form) merged with or evolved into the butterfly dance by the 1930s and 1940s.[166]

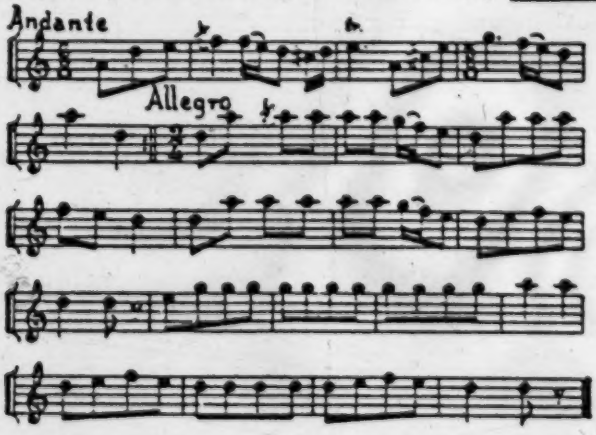
1. Verkhovyna

The dance verkhovyna was performed in two or four groups of three dancers. The verkhovyna was relatively popular in Swan Plain into the 1930s and 1940s.[167] The characteristic melody of the verkhovyna was

also known and played by musicians in the Smoky Lake area,[168] and it is possible that the dance was also known there.

The most common melodic variant of the verkhovyna was popularized in connection with the song text "Verkhovyno, svitku ty nash," written by Mykola Ustyianovych.[169]

Verkhovyno, svitku ty nash!	Verkhovyna, our world!
Hei, iak u tebe tut mylo!	Hey, how sweet it is here!
Mov ihry vod, plyne tu chas,	Time passes here like water in the streams
Svobidno, shumno, veselo.	Freely, noisily, playfully.
Oi nemaie kraiu, kraiu	Oh, there is no land,
Nad tu Verkhovynu!	Above this Verkhovyna!
Koby meni tut pobuty	If only I can stay here
Khoch odnu hodynu!	At least one hour!
Z verkha na verkh, a z boru v bir	From peak to peak, and from forest to forest
Z lehkoiu v sertsi dumkoiu,	With a light though in your heart,
V cheresi krys, v rukakh topir,	A blade in his belt, an axe in his hand,
Buiaie lehin' toboiu.	A strong young lad soars with you.
Cheremoshe, Cheremoshe	Oh Cheremosh river, Cheremosh
Bystra tvoia voda!	Your current is swift!
Divchynon'ka khoroshaia,	Oh my dear girl,
Harna tvoia vroda![170]	How pretty you look!

The music consisted of two distinct sections, a slower lyrical section in 6/8 metre, alternating with a lively kolomyika in 2/4 time.[171]

In preparation for the dance, the performers joined in groups of three, often two women with a man in the middle, or one woman between two men. Two such trios stood opposite each other at a distance of several paces. During the slow melody, the dancers performed the first figure of the dance. At this time, the dancers walked slowly up to the trio opposite them and bowed towards each other. The dancers bent forward at the waist in a slow motion, then straightened up, and walked backwards to their original positions. This sequence of moving forward, bowing, and moving back was repeated throughout the time it took to play the first verse. Because the musicians were at liberty to use a great deal of rubato in this part of the dance, the rhythm of the melody often became irregular and it was difficult to walk exactly to the beat of the music. The bowing sequence, then, was performed loosely in relation to the musical phrases. Each sequence took approximately four measures of the 6/8 melody, and was repeated two, three, or four times during the first figure.[172] The dancers often sang the words to the song, expecially during the first figure, where their movement was gentle and facilitated using the voice.[173]

The second figure of the verkhovyna corresponded with the quick and lively kolomyika melody in the music. At this time, the dancers stepped slightly away from their partners. The center dancer turned towards his or her partner to the right. Joining right arms, they danced a small circle around each other. After three quarters of a turn (sometimes one-and-three-quarters or more turns), the centre dancer let go of this partner and reached his/her left hand out to grasp the left arm of the third dancer. The centre dancer continued in this fashion, moving in a figure eight (somewhat resembling

butterfly wings) repeatedly around his/her partners. When two of the dancers spun together, they most often hooked their arms together at their bent elbows. The other outside partner, waiting for his or her turn to spin, continued to run or polka on the spot, sometimes clapping, singing or encouraging his/her partners. During the second figure, the dancers performed either the kolomyika step[174] or the polka.[175]

When the musicians ceased playing the kolomyika section and began the slower first melody again, the dancers joined up in their trios to repeat the bowing sequence. This figure served as a resting figure, especially for the centre dancer, whose role in the second figure was often strenuous and tiring. The figures were repeated alternatingly a given number of times as decided by the musicians.[176]

A possible variant of the second figure of the verkhovyna was performed while the three dancers in a group held hands.[177] The centre dancer and his or her partner to the right raised their joined hands while the third partner bent forward and passed underneath this arch. This third partner traced a complete circle around the centre person. As this part of the figure was done, the centre dancer rotated 360° to the right to keep the trio intact. After this was completed, the dancer on the right circled under a similar arc made by the other two dancers. In this manner, the dancers continued to make arcs and weave around each other until the second figure ended. Since this figure is not found in early descriptions of the verkhovyna,[178] it is likely that it was a later addition to the dance. It is not clear whether this step was incorporated into the verkhovyna before the immigrants moved to Canada or after the Avramenko repertoire was introduced.[179]

Figure 2: The vorota (gate) figure. (Drawing 66 in Humeniuk, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi, (1968), p. 51.)

The verkhovyna was apparently also danced in another variant form in Swan Plain. Rather than assembling in groups of threes, the dancers joined in couples. The dance started with two or four couples lining up opposite each other. During the first figure, the couples walked forward, bowed, and retreated exactly as in the trio arrangement. In the second figure, the dancers simply turned in couples as in a paired kolomyika or hutsulka.[180]

As it merged with the butterfly, the verkhovyna took on other variants of the two main figures. The first figure was in time replaced with a hopping travelling step.[181] The verkhovyna melody was retained by certain musicians and bands, though a number of non-Ukrainian tunes also became common for the verkhovyna/butterfly.[182]

2. Motylyk

A dance called motylyk was identified by two informants from Smoky Lake. They claimed that the dance was first translated as "grasshopper," then commonly as "butterfly." The dance is said to have been brought by the immigrants from Ukraine, and to have been performed very much like the butterfly today.[183]

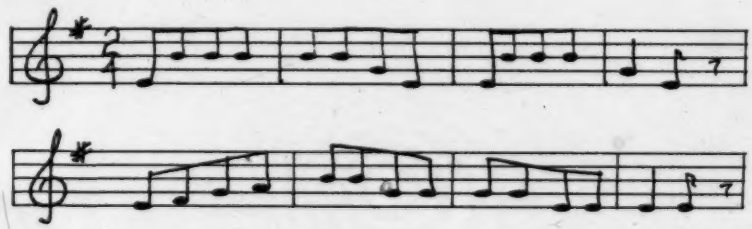
D. Quadrille-Type Dances

The quadrille was a ballroom dance that originated in France in the early 1800s, spread across Europe and other continents, and remained popular for most of that century. The quadrille was danced usually by four couples standing at the corners of a square. Each of the many variants of the quadrille consisted of a number of relatively complicated figures.[184] Typical figures for this type of dance included couples exchanging positions within the square formation, partner changes, and the four dancers of either sex meeting in the middle of the square.[185]

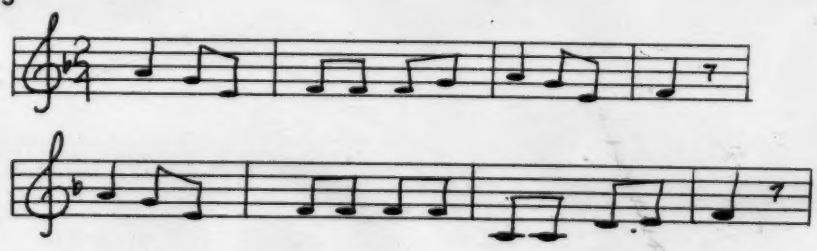
Quadrille forms spread to Eastern Europe and Ukraine. By the end of the 19th century, these dances were spreading from the ballrooms of urban centers and were entering the repertoire of the village folk. Quadrilles were quite widespread in much of Central Ukraine.[186] They were known to a lesser extent in Western Ukrainian areas.[187] The quadrille integrated itself into the dance repertoire of the various areas and commonly evolved into local variants with identifiable Ukrainian features.[188] A number of quadrille-type

dances were known in Smoky Lake and/or Swan Plain. These included dva holuby, kreits pol'ka, chovnyk and pid haiem.

1. Dva holuby

The dance dva holuby was known in Swan Plain and contained features of the quadrille. The dance was not extremely popular, but was played once or twice per dance in the earlier years of settlement to provide variety in their repertoire.[189] The kolomyika-type song dva holuby vodu pyly apparently continued to be sung after the dance itself lost its popularity.[190]

Dva holuby vodu pyly,
A dva kolotyly.
Bodai toti pokonaly,
Shcho nas rozluchyly.[191]

Two doves were drinking water,
And two were stirring it up.
May those people die off,
Those who split us apart.

The song included other verses, though these were not remembered by the informants. A very similar kolomyika-type verse documented in Western Ukraine at the beginning of the century.[192] This melody was associated with a second, faster tune to comprise the complete dance form.[193]

The two melodies of the instrumental piece corresponded with the two figures of the dance dva holuby. The dance was performed by groups of four dancers. Each foursome consisted of two mixed couples. Each dancer stood on the corner of a square area several paces wide. The dancers of each couple stood adjacent to each other and faced across to the dancers of the opposite couple. During the first two measures, the dancers walked forward and changed places with the person in front of them. At that point, they turned around and crossed to their original side again. These movements were repeated four to eight times as the melody of the first figure continued. The informants' descriptions were not clear or consistent. It is possible that the dancers bowed to the person opposite them at intervals during the first figure. It is also possible that the dance was done with four couples rather than four dancers.[194]

The second figure corresponded with the second, faster melody. At that time, the dancers of each couple (standing to the side of each other) joined in polka position and turned with the polka step while the fast music continued. When the first melody was played again, they released each other and faced the other couple opposite them.[195]

The dance dva holuby resembled a dance called nedokhodiak described by Shukhevych in 1902.

> In more recent times, the dance nedokhod'yk has become popular in some places. For this dance, they stand in two rows in pairs opposite each other. They travel, doing the tropata step towards each other and to the side. Not reaching each other, the dancers return to their places and spin in couples.[196]

The name nedokhodiak ("the one where you don't quite get there") referred to the fact that the dancers did not quite go far enough to

reach the person opposite them. This feature and the tropata step appear to be the only two characteristics which differentiate nedokhodiak and dva holuby of Swan Plain. Shukhevych continued to speculate on the origin of this dance:

> Nedokhodiak reminds us of the second figure of the quadrille: It has possibly been introduced by soldiers on leave of absence. Seeing the quadrille at their army posts, they retained only the second, the simplest figure.[197]

2. Kreits pol'ka

The dance kreits pol'ka was known in both Swan Plain and Smoky Lake.[198] In both areas, the dance was clearly based on the quadrille format. Informants asserted that "kreits" was a German word meaning "cross" and that this was a "crossing polka."[199] kreitz pol'ka was performed in the period before 1930.[200] It was enjoyed most by the immigrant generation.

The dance was performed in groups of four couples. Each couple stood at a corner of a square area and faced the centre. Two couples who faced each other along the diagonal exchanged places. Then the other two couples changed places. This series of crossing over to the opposite corner of the square was repeated and constituted the first figure of the dance. In the second figure, the couples apparently danced the polka.[201]

A polka variant called the Kreuzpolka evolved in Germany in the 1840s and attained great popularity in German speaking areas.[202] This dance was also translated as the "cross polka" when it spread into adjacent countries.[203] The Kreuzpolka may have given its name

to the kreitz pol'ka of the Canadian prairies, though the dance description appears to be significantly different. Several descriptions of the Kreuzpolka consistently document the dance as a simple couple dance.[204] It is not clear whether the kreits pol'ka acquired its quadrille form in the old country, en route to Canada, or in Canada, or whether it was not associated with the Kreuzpolka at all.[205]

3. Chovnyk

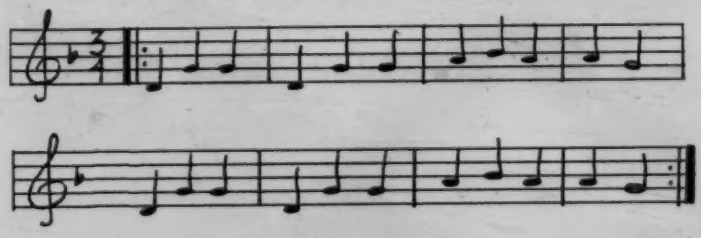
A dance called chovnyk was identified by an informant in Smoky Lake. The dance described was identical to kreits pol'ka. It was performed by four couples standing in a square. During the first figure, two opposite couples walked past each other along a diagonal. When they had reached the other couples' positions, they turned around to face the centre again. After they were in place, the other two couples would perform the same exchange. The second figure consisted of each couple dancing the polka. These two figures repeated alternately.[206]

Chovnyk was considered very similar to square dancing, though apparently there was no caller during this dance.[207] It is not clear whether chovnyk was the name of a song sung to this dance, which otherwise was in fact, the kreitz pol'ka, or whether the different names were used by different segments of the population. It is also possible that the two dances were different in some undescribed aspect.[208]

4. Pid haiem

Yet a third name was used for a quadrille-type dance in Smoky Lake. Though the informants differentiated this dance from chovnyk and from square dancing, precisely the same first figure was described as in the previous two forms.[209]

Pid haiem stands out because of the fact that the melody was in triple time in contrast to the overwhelming majority of 2/4 metre in the dance repertoire of Ukrainians in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.[210] The dance was performed to the following song:



Pid haiem, pid haiem,
Pid kalynochku,
Ikhaly zhovniary
Za Vkrainochku.

To v bilim, to v chornim,
To v zelenen'kim.
Pid kozhdym zhovniarom
Kin' voronen'kyi.[211]

Near the meadow, near the meadow,
Under the cranberry tree,
The soldiers were riding
For Ukraine.

Some in white, some in black,
Some in green.
Under every soldier
A raven-black horse.

In this chapter, then, 15 group dance forms of European origin were shown to have existed in Swan Plain and/or Smoky Lake. Of this number, the kolomyika, hutsulka, and toporivs'ka were circle dances; arkan, serban, karaban, kopirushka, kozak, and shuba were mens' dances;

verkhovyna and possibly motylyk were performed in groups of three; and dva holuby, kreits pol'ka, chovnyk, and pid haiem were dances in a quadrille square. These dances, however, comprised only one part of the European dance heritage of the Ukrainians in these communities. The remainder of such dances are described in the next chapter.

NOTES

CHAPTER III: GROUP DANCE FORMS KNOWN PRIOR TO EMIGRATION

A. Circle Dances

1. Kolomyika

1. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 170; Kolberg, p. 2; Senkiv, pp. 106-07; Hnatiuk, "Kolomyiky," vols. 1-3.

2. Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo, p. 113.

3. Andrii Humeniuk, "Khoreohrafichni ta muzychni osnovy tantsiuval'nykh pisen'" [Choreographic and Musical Fundamentals of Dance Songs], in Dei, ed., Tantsiuval'ni pisni, (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1970), p. 54.

4. Hnatiuk, "Kolomyiky," vols. 1-3; Humeniuk, Instrumental'na muzyka, pp. 137-53; Kolberg, pp. 10-78; Roman Harasymczuk, "Melodie taneczne" [Dance Melodies], in Tańce huculskie (L'viv: Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1939), pp. 1-24; and others.

5. Klymasz, Ukrainian Folklore in Canada, p. 102.

6. Robert Klymasz, An Introduction to the Ukrainian Canadian Immigrant Folk Song Cycle (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1970); Rudnyc'kyj, Materiialy, vols. 1-4.

7. Katharina Piwowar.

8. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

9. Katharina Piwowar has recorded on tape and on paper over six hundred kolomyika verses in her repertoire. Many informants stated that they once knew many verses.

10. Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo, p. 113.

11. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26, Dmytro Kowch, and recorded interview with Leon Kurytnik, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 25, 1983.

12. Alena Viteychuk.

13. Nick Gelech, June 26.

14. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26, Nick Gelech, June 26, Dmytro Kowch, Mary Kurytnik.

a) Kolomyika - First Type

15. By Maria Nahachewsky and in an unrecorded discussion with Gus Nahachewsky, Andriy Nahachewsky, summer, 1982.

16. Kolomyika-type dances performed by men only are described by Harasymchuk. These include the kolo ("Rozvytok," pp. 176-80), rivna (pp. 180-87), and some of the older variants of the kolomyika itself (p. 211).

b) Kolomyika - Second Type

17. Recorded interview with John Tataryn, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 25, 1983.

18. Mary Kurytnik.

19. Bill Nahachewsky, February 25.

20. Nick Tataryn, Sophie Tataryn.

21. Bill Nahachewsky, February 24.

22. Henia Martyniuk.

23. John Babichuk.

24. Joe Michalchuk.

25. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26, Nick Gelech, June 26, Katharina Piwowar, and Nick Tataryn. Kolomyiky with two, four, six, eight, or more dancers were documented in Western Ukraine. See Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 210-12.

26. See Plates 5 and 7.

27. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 179. He traces the history of this arm position specifically to Halychyna and Bukovyna.

28. Alena Viteychuk.

29. Helen Kulka.

30. When discussing the steps in a kolomyika, Sophie Tataryn said "tai nohamy...abo toi..." [and with the feet...or else that one...]. She failed to verbalize her description in both cases, but did suggest that two different steps were possible. Harasymchuk described that the steps "rivna," "krutytysia nyz'ko," and/or "nyz'kyi tropachok" were variously used in conjunction with the similar dance rivna ("Rozvytok," pp. 180, 181, and 183 respectively.)

31. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

32. This step is called "rivna" by Harasymchuk and was considered basic for this type of dance. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 170-87.

33. John Tataryn, Nick Tataryn, Alena Viteychuk, and others.

34. Humeniuk, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi (1968), pp. 49-51. Kolberg, p. 4. Harasymchuk describes one variant of the kolomyika where the women become airborne on a different way. See Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 212.

35. Kolberg, p. 4.

36. This was explained by Alena Viteychuk. She took great satisfaction in the fact that she knew this trick and usually managed to keep her feet on the ground.

37. Nick Tataryn.

38. John Tataryn.

39. Sophie Tataryn.

40. The execution of a haiduk after spinning in the circle is also found in Harasymchuk's description of the kolo. The authour stated that the haiduk was of secondary importance and served simply to highlight the moment in which the circle should change directions ("Rozvytok," p. 179).

41. Katharina Piwowar. This figure is also found in old country sources. It was described as one of the basic formations of the kolomyika in Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo, p. 113, Harasymchuk "Rozvytok," pp. 210-12, and Kolberg p. 4.

42. Henia Martyniuk.

c) Kolomyika - Third Type

43. Ibid.

44. The dozens of theatrical "solo" steps, their complicated form, many variations, and specialized nomenclature make them impossible to describe in detail in a study of this scope. For further information, consult video recordings of such kolomyiky made in these centres, or possibly in the prairie cities. Also consult descriptions of staged dance lexicon such as Vasylenko, Leksyka, and the works by Avramenko, Humeniuk, and others.

45. The Smoky Lake Holubka dancers are a theatrical Ukrainian dance school and performing group. See Our Legacy, pp. 263-64.

46. Henia Martyniuk.

47. Miles Sembaliuk.

48. Translated from Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 185-86. The passage deals with a newer kolomyika-type dance.

49. Herman, p. 16.

50. Avramenko, Tanky, muzyka i strii (1947) pp. 34-35, 42-43 and 44-45.

51. Ibid, pp. 33-34.

2. Hutsulka

52. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

53. Sophie Tataryn, Maria Nahachewsky, February 24.

54. John Babichuk.

55. Metro Radomsky.

56. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 305-08; Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo, p. 115.

57. Unrecorded interview with Russell Kulchisky, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 12, 1984. See the "Huculka" played by —The Easy Aces Five' on Easy Aces Five Play Old Country Dances, DSF Records, DSLP-3, side 2, cut 6.

58. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

59. Older informants stated that the dance was performed in groups of four (Fruzyna Gelech, July 12), whereas younger informants said that it was most often danced in couples (Metro Radomsky).

60. John Babichuk.

61. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

62. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 326-30.

66. Dancing in couples throughout the hutsulka was the final structural variant listed by Harasymchuk on p. 336. Shukhevych's brief mention of the hutsulka in Hutsul'shchyna, p. 80, lists it as a couple dance (p. 80).

3. Toporivs'ka

67. Joe Michalchuk, Nick Gelech, June 26.

68. Nick Gelech, June 26.

69. Metro Radomsky, June 26.

70. Ibid.

71. Alena Viteychuk.

72. Alex Krytor.

73. Helen Kulka.

74. John Babichuk, Nick Gelech.

75. The practice of naming a dance after a specific locality was not uncommon in Western Ukraine, Kolberg mentions a hordylianka (p. 5), Harasymchuk describes the babyns'ke, biloberezka, iavorivka, vorokhtianka, mykulychanka, and many others. ("Rozvytok," pp. 337-76).

76. Elizabeth Nikolaychuk.

77. Katharina Piwowar.

78. Metro Radomsky.

79. Ibid.

80. Alex Krytor.

81. Russell Kulchisky, George Hilliuk. The melody notated below was played by Alex Krytor.

82. Elizabeth Nikolaychuk remembered only part of one verse. Other informants did not identify specific toporivs'ka verses in this seven syllable form.

83. Alex Krytor. The arrangement of partners standing side by side while dancing was well known in Western Ukraine,and was known as standing "bokom." See Shukhevych, p. 78; Kolberg, pp. xii and 5; Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 490 and others.

84. Alena Viteychuk.

85. Fruzyna Gelech.

86. Alena Viteychuk.

87. Alex Krytor.

88. Nick Gelech.

89. Alena Viteychuk.

90. Alex Krytor.

91. Fruzyna Gelech.

92. Alena Viteychuk.

93. Alex Krytor.

94. Alena Viteychuk.

95. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 474.

96. Ibid, pp. 474-76.

97. Ibid, p. 486.

98. Ibid, p. 490.

B. Mens' Dances

99. Recorded interview with Maria Nahachewsky, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 23, 1983.

100. The Anoneychuk daughters, especially Anna and Hazel were heavily involved in cultural activities in Swan Plain in the 1920s and 1930s, Pioneers Settled, p. 259. Performing groups then, as now, normally attracted more girls than boys. This surplus of girls could be dealt with in various ways.

101. Maria Nahachewsky.

102. Women sometimes joined in the arkan in the settlement of Iabluniv in Hutsul'shchyna. See Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 449.

1. Arkan

103. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 421-53. It was known in Swan Plain by immigrants from Borshchiw in Halychyna. It was not known, however, in the area of Drohobych in Halychyna, farther to the northeast as claimed by Alena Viteychuk.

104. Fruzyna Gelech. Alex Krytor remembered seeing Metro Andrichuk, Andriy Berezka, and other older men dance a harkan outdoors in the snow at the wedding of Steve Romanchuk and Mary Esopenko in 1927.

105. Alex Krytor, Fruzyna Gelech, Sophie Tataryn.

106. See Chapter V, below.

107. John Babichuk. See Plate 8.

108. Metro Radomsky, Alena Viteychuk, Russell Kulchisky, Bill Nahachewsky, February 24.

109. Katharina Piwowar.

110. Bill Nahachewsky, February 24.

111. Ibid.

112. Maria Nahachewsky, February 24.

113. Avramenko, Tanky, muzyka i strii, p.61.

114. Many variants and alternate melodies are recorded; Shukhevych, ch. 3, pp. 88, 94; Stanisław Mierczyński, Muzyka Huculszczyzny (Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1965), pp.112-19; Kolberg, pp. 51, 53; Harasymchuk, "Melodie taneczne," p. 43-48; Humeniuk, Ukrainski narodni tantsi, p.418; Humeniuk, Instrumental'na muzyka, p. 287-298; Porfiryi Bazhan'skyi rusko-narodni halytski mel'odii: IIa sotnia (Zhovkva: Published by the author, 1906), p. 15; Porfiryi Bazhan'skyi, Rusko-narodni halytski mel'odii: IVa sotnia(Peremyshl: Published by the author, 1907), p. 15.

115. Fruzyna Gelech.

116. Recorded interview with Nick Nahachewsky, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 24, 1983. Nick Gelech. Arkan verses of this melody were known in Western Ukraine in the 1880s. Compare Kolberg p. 53-54.

Arkan bidnyi,	Arkan "the poor one,"
Poias sribnyi,	The belt is silver,
Fota zolota,	The skirts are gold,
Shkoda do bolota.	A pity to go into the mud.
Akan birka,	Arkan, a small pine forest,
Poias shkirka,	The belt is leather,
Iavir zelenen'kyi	The maple is green
To jei mylenkyi.	That's her sweetheart.
Arkan luchka,	Arkan, a necklace string,
Derenova nizhka,	A leg made of blackthorn,
Iasenovi rutsi	Hands made of ash wood
Shcho divky boiat si.	What girls are afraid of.

117. Harasymchuk describes this phenomenon in "Rozvytok," p. 423.

118. Bill Nahachewsky, February 24, Leon Kurytnik, George Hilliuk.

119. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 446.

120. Maria Nahachewsky, February 24.

121. The Avramenko choreography contained ten figures.

122. Metro Radomsky.

123. Sofia Tataryn.

124. The commands were remembered by Bill Nahachewsky, Mary Kurytnik, Mr. Hilliuk and Leon Kurytnik. The specific structure of the step and its variants is taken from Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 430-32, and may have differed in Smoky Lake and/or Swan Plain.

125. George Hilliuk.

126. The haiduk commands were remembered by Sophie Tataryn, Bill Nahachewsky and Dmytro Kowch. Very general descriptions of the haiduk and prysidannia were given by George Hilliuk, Alena Viteychuk, and others.

127. For details, see executions of the steps as commonly performed in Western Ukraine. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 433-34 and 443-45.

128. Bill Nahachewsky, February 24.

129. Ibid.

130. Metro Radomsky. For a description of the step, see Avramenko Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky, p. 15.

131. Avramenko, Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky, pp. 43-45. Descriptions of these steps are also given in Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 434-43.

2. Serban

132. Katharina Piwowar, and Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

133. See Humeniuk, Instrumental'na muzyka, pp. 309-311; Kolberg, pp. 49-51, 53; In Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 456, a fuller variant of the Smoky Lake text is given:

Oi Serbane, Serbanochku,	Oh Serban, dear Serban,
Viz'my mene za zhinochku.	Take me as your wife.
Iak ia maiu tebe uziaty,	How am I to take you,

Koly u tebe lykha maty.	When you have an angry mother.
Lykha maty, vsia rodyna	An angry mother, the whole family
A ia bidnyi syrotyna.	And I am a poor orphan.
Iak zcharuiesh brata svoho,	If you enchant your brother,
Budesh maty molodoho....	You will have a groom....

[The tragic story continues of how the girl poisons her brother, yet still does not marry Serban in the end.]

134. Kolberg (p. 8) feels the need to emphasize that the two are actually separate dances, not the same one. This suggests that the two were already merging by 1888. The verse:

A Voloshyn sino kosyt,	The Wallachian cuts hay,
A Voloshka isty nosyt.	His wife carries the food to him.
Koby borshe dokosyty,	If only he could finish sooner,
Aby isty ne nosyty	She wouldn't have to carry it out to him.

is published as a serpen in Kolberg, (p. 50), and an almost identical one is labelled arkan in Bazhan'skyi, Halytski mel'odii, IVa sotnia, p. 15, in 1907.

135. Descriptions of the serban (serbyn, serpen) are found in Kolberg, p. 7, and Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 453-58.

3. Karaban

136. Dmytro Kowch.

137. Nick Nahachewsky. The informant sang the song softly and indistinctly on the tape. The meaning of the text is unclear.

138. Maria Nahachewsky, February 24, Dmytro Kowch, Nick Nahachewsky.

139. The idea that the karaban may in fact, have been a serban is suggested by its absence in studies of Rumanian and Moldavian dance. It is possible that the name became changed somehow in Swan Plain. This theory is not strongly supported by the musical characteristics of each dance, though the information is insufficient and too tentative to allow for any conclusive decisions.

140. Béla Bartók, Rumanian Folk Music, Vol. 1: Instrumental Music (reprint ed., The Hague: Martinus Nyhoff, 1967), pp. 308-10. "Caraba" is the name of a simple reed instrument and the mouthpiece of the Rumanian bagpipe. See Bartók, pp. 22-23.

4. Kopirushka

141. Metro Radomsky.

142. Metro Radomsky. On at least one occasion, the leader of the dance slid his pants down, inciting screams from the audience and daring the others to follow.

143. The dance is not found in Kolberg, Harasymchuk, nor Humeniuk. The dance kopirush was adapted for the stage, in a Soviet Ukrainian character dance. In this staged version, thedancers used chairs as props, and were hit with a knotted towel when they missed a cue. The dance was taught in Canada by Viktor Stepovy in Toronto, 1982.

5. Kozak

144. The term kozak was used to describe a mixed couple dance in Swan Plain by Dmytro Kowch and in Smoky Lake by Katherine Piwowar. Kozak was used to describe a two mens' dance in Smoky Lake by John Babichuk. On the other hand, the term kozachok was used to describe a mixed couple dance in Swan Plain by Sofie Tataryn and in Smoky Lake by Russell Kulchisky. Kozachok was used to describe a two mens' dance in Smoky Lake by Alex Krytor. Metro Radmosky suggested that the names kozak and kozachok were the same, kozachok being simply a diminutive form of the word that was more appropriate for younger dancers.

145. Kolberg and Shukhevych used the name kozak. Mierczyński, in his study, used both kozachok and kozak. He used kozachok more commonly, and reserved "kozak" for several older melodies. Verkhovynets' recorded both kozachok and kozak melodies. Bazhan'skyi used the term kozachok only. Humeniuk, who worked later, mostly in Central Ukraine, did not differentiate between kozak and kozachok. He called all of these dances kozachok. In his Instrumental'na muzyka, for example, he cited dance melodies from Kolberg and Mierczyński that had originally been labelled kozak, and classified them as kozachok melodies (see pp. 473-74). Mierczyński's differentiation seems to be consistent with Harasymchuk's descriptions in "Rozvytok," pp. 257-63 and 287-90.

146. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 257-63 and 287-90. In the 1930s, the mens' dance was known as "kozak" in most (but not all) areas of Hutsul'shchyna.

147. John Babichuk.

148. Alex Krytor. John Babichuk claimed that his uncle was also a good kozak dancer.

149. Joe Michalchuk.

150. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 255.

151. Verkhovynets' Teoria, pp. 126-128; Humeniuk, Ukrainski narodni

tantsi,p. 216; Mierczyński, pp. 54-55 and 131-132; Kolberg, pp. 52-53 and 71-73; Shukhevych, pp. 86 and 94.

152. Victor Pasowisty, 40 Minutes of Musical Enjoyment Ukrainian Style (Galaxy Records 6SLP-1020).

153. Recorded interview with Jean Babichuk, Andriy Nahachewsky, July 12, 1984.

154. Alex Krytor.

155. Ibid.

156. This step was described in a mixed couple dance by Katharina Piwowar. Shukhevych described the kozak in Hutsul'shchyna wherein the dancers "flash around their feet to a greater degree [than in the kolomyika]. They do this how and when they want to, and in every direction" p. 80.

157. Metro Radomsky.

158. Alex Krytor. The description and demonstration of this step were very suggestive of the step known as pletennia, dorizhka nazad, and veriovochka in staged Ukrainian dance.

159. Alex Krytor, Joe Michalchuk, Metro Radomsky, Jean Babichuk.

160. Jean Babichuk, Joe Michalchuk, Metro Radomsky.

161. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 259.

162. Ibid, pp. 260-61.

6. Shuba

163. Sophie Tataryn, Recorded interview with Mike Tataryn, Andriy Nahachewsky, February 25, 1983.

164. Sophie Tataryn.

165. The general form of the shuba raises the same problems of classification as dealw with for the kozak and kozachok. The differences between the mens' solo dance and a mixed couple dance have been defined for this study by the participation of the female partner. In the shuba and in the kozak, any female partner played a secondary role. The man's improvisations often included jumps and prysiadky.

C. Trio Dances

166. Though the history of the butterfly has not been confirmed it apparently belonged to the social dance repertoire of various

European immigrants to Western Canada. It is described in Chapter V, below.

1. Verkhovyna

167. Gus Nahachewsky, John Tataryn.

168. See Easy Aces Five "Verkhovyna, folk dance." Ukrainian Dances: Edmonton's Easy Aces, DSLP-1. Side 1 Cut 6.

169. Verkhovyna means "land at the top." This is the name of a geographic area high in the Carpathian mountains. Mykola Ustyianovych (1811-1885) was a Western Ukrainian poet.

170. This song has become a folk song and exists in a number of variants. The first several lines of the first slow verse and the first fast verse were sung by Mary Kurtynik and Maria Nahachewsky. Both informants claimed that they and other local residents once knew the song much better. This text is excerpted from Ukrains'ki narodni pisni [Ukrainian Folk Songs] vol. 2, Z. Vasylenko and M. Hordiichuk, eds. (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1955), pp. 369-70.

171. This melody is from Harasymchuk, "Melodie taneczne," p. 24. See also other examples on pp. 24-28; Mierczyński, pp. 142-43, Humeniuk, Instrumental'na muzyka, p. 202.

172. Sophie Tataryn.

173. Mary Kurtynik, Leon Kurtynik, Maria Nahachewsky. Mierczyński (p. 142) describes the first figure as "for singing," in contrast to the second figure, which was "for dancing." A first figure identical to the Swan Plain informants' description is found in Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 233-34.

174. See "kolomyika" above. The kolomyika step or rivna was performed in two eighth beats. When travelling to the left, the dancer crossed his right foot in front during the first eighth beat, then stepped left on his/her left foot during the second eighth.

175. See "polka" below. The polka step was performed on two eighth notes and a quarter, alternating steps with the right-left-right, then left-right-left...

176. The second figure of the verkhovyna was described by Sophie Tataryn and John Tataryn. It corresponded very closely with the verkhovyna as described by Harasymchuk in "Rozvytok," pp. 234-36.

177. This variant is known in both Swan Plain and Smoky Lake butterflies at the present. It is known as a social dance from Eastern Europe in international folk dance circles as the

"troika." See part II of the troika in Lanie Melamed, All Join Hands (Montreal: [n.p.] 1977), p. 42; Herman, pp. 6-9; Belford, pp. 8-9. This figure was also a major component of a social dance called ocheret in Central Ukraine. It was recorded in 1955 in Humeniuk, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi (film) from the Ivanivs'kyi raion, Kyivs'ka oblast', (film 3). See also the trojok from Silesia in Roderyk Lange, The Nature of Dance: An Anthropological Perspective (London: MacDonald and Evans Ltd., 1975), p. 81.

178. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 230-37.

179. The figure has not been found in the published dances in Avramenko's books. It is also possible that this figure was learned from some other trio dance or from a variant of the butterfly danced by other settlers on the Prairies.

180. Maria Nahachewsky, February 24, Mary Kurtynik. Though a number of informants participated in discussions of such a variant, it is not impossible that they were confusing verkhovyna with the dances dva holuby or vasylykha. On the other hand, Harasymchuk described simple variants of the verkhovyna based on grouping in couples. See Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 236.

181. See the descriptions of the figures of the butterfly in Chapter V.

182. John Tataryn.

183. George Hilliuk and Russell Kulchisky. No other sources confirmed the existence of the motylyk.

D. Quadrille-Type Dances

184. Andrew Lamb, "Quadrille" The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians 5th ed., pp. 489-90; "Dance." The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., p. 207.

185. See, for example, Sydney Thompson, The Theory and Practice of Old Time Dancing (London: John Delworth Ltd., 1950), pp. 49-51.

186. Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo, p. 37. Humeniuk documented ten Ukrainian variants of the quadrille in Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi, (1969) pp. 274-331.

187. Shukhevych, p. 80, and as suggested by the existence of such forms in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain. Neither Harasymchuk nor Kolberg however, mention the form specifically.

188. Humeniuk, Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo, p. 37.

1. Dva holuby

189. Maria Nahachewsky, February 24.

190. Dmytro Kowch, Maria Nahachewsky, February 24, Mary Kurtynik, Sophie Tataryn.

191. Sung by Dmytro Kowch.

192. See Kolberg, p. 45. The Kolberg variant included a second verse:

Bodai ony ne skonaly,	May they not find rest,
Spasini ne maly,	May they not reach heaven,
Shcho ony nas rozluchyly	For they broke us up
Z prybranoi pary.	From our chosen couple.

193. This melody is transcribed tentatively from an unclear recording by Maria Nahachewsky, February 24.

194. Maria Nahachewsky, Nick Nahachewsky, Bill Nahachewsky, February 24. The informants did not remember the dance well. Some similarities between this dance and the verkhovyna may have caused some confusion and affected the description of this dance.

195. Maria Nahachewsky, February 24.

196. Shukhevych, p. 80. The translation is my own.

197. Ibid.

3. Kreits pol'ka

198. Dmytro Kowch, Sophie Tataryn, Metro Radomsky.

199. Metro Radomsky.

200. Metro Radomsky stated that it was done in the times when weddings were held on farms rather than in the halls.

201. Metro Radomsky.

202. Cernusak and Lamb, "Polka," Grove Dictionary of Music, p. 439.

203. Finador Vytautas Beliajus, The dance of Lietuva, ([n.p.] [n.d.]), p. 89. The dance was known in Latvia and Lithuania as greiz or greicius.

204. Beliajus, Lietuva, p. 89; and Lee, p. 91, where the dance is called the Wiener-Kreutz polka.

205. The fact that the form was similar in both Swan Plain and Smoky Lake suggests that it was already a quadrille form in Europe.

4. Chovnyk

206. Fruzyna Gelech.

207. Ibid.

208. Fruzyna Gelech remembered the dance chovnyk but did not remember kreits pol'ka. Metro Radomsky, on the other hand, recalled kreits pol'ka but did not respond to chovnyk as a quadrille-type dance.

5. Pid haiem

209. Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

210. Chovnyk was the name of a waltz song that later became popular. If the chovnyk quadrille was associated with this waltz melody, it too may have been 3/4 metre. One of the original five quadrille figures in French ballrooms was written in 6/8 metre, (Lamb, "Quadrille," pp. 490-491) though they seemed to be almost always in 2/4 time in Ukraine. (Humeniuk, Instrumental'na muzyka, pp. 264-77. Only one phrase of 33 is in 6/8 time). Alternately, because Pid haiem was sung rather quickly, it may have been related to oberek from Poland.

211. Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

CHAPTER IV: COUPLE DANCE FORMS KNOWN PRIOR TO IMMIGRATION

Dances described in this chapter include couple dances *per se* as well as partner-changing dances that are based upon them.

A. Couple Dances

The largest group of dances brought to Smoky Lake and Swan Plain by Ukrainian immigrants were danced in mixed couples. These included the *kozachok*, *chaban*, *sidemka*, polka, heel-and-toe, *vasylykha*, *shvets'*, *zhyd*, *tsyhan*, *strashok*, *hanusia*, *hora*, *chardash*, *keriak*, *shnel' pol'ka*, hopping polka, *hory pol'ka*, *kopanka*, *sidanka*, and sheepskin.

1. *Kozachok*

The *kozachok* was closely related to the *kozak* both in terms of the name itself as well as the dance.[1] Both names, in fact, were used to describe this couple dance.[2] Whereas the mens' dance was apparently known only in Smoky Lake, the couple dance was known in several variants in both Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.

A variety of *kozachok* melodies were known in Western Canada.[3] They were based upon the two rhythmic patterns

fundamental for kozachok-type dances.[4]

One variant of the kozachok was danced in Swan Plain in the first several decades of this century. In this dance, the male and female dancers faced each other and held each other by the hands with their elbows slightly bent. The dance was performed lightly, with jumping steps. The dancers spun first in one direction, then in the other, changing back and forth.[5]

In the Smoky Lake area, a similar early variant was danced. The dancers jumped in time with the music, landing alternately on both feet, then their right, then on both, then on the left. This hopping step was continued indefinitely during the dance. When the dancers landed onto their right foot, the left was kicked out to the side. Likewise, the right foot was kicked out when it was free. The arm position used in the Smoky Lake area was different than that in Swan Plain. Here, the dancers held right hands. Their left hands were free to move at will to keep balance and move with the rhythm and feeling of the dance. In this case, the dancers rotated around each other clockwise. The kozachok did not necessarily involve prysiadky performed by the men. It was similar to a dance common in parts of Halychyna. It was accompanied by a specific melody and special words.[6]

Other variants of the kozachok also existed in Smoky Lake and in Swan Plain. In the earlier years of settlement, the kozachok may have

been danced in groups of four dancers.[7] Whether danced in groups or in pairs, the kozachok lost much of its original individuality and began to merge with the kolomyika by approximately the turn of the century. In both Smoky Lake and Swan Plain, dancers lost the ability to differentiate between the two musical forms, and began to perform similar dance figures to the tunes. This was especially true after the 1920s, when the polka became commonly danced to both kolomyika-type and kozachok-type melodies.[8]

The arrival of Avramenko and the widespread popularity of his dance repertoire introduced a new form of kozachok to both Smoky Lake and Swan Plain by the mid 1930s.[9] The "kozachok podil's'kyi" [kozachok from the Podillia region], as it was called, was a dance for one or more mixed couples. It contained ten figures and a number of different steps.[10] The choreography was performed at parties by young dancers who had memorized it in dance lessons. This practice, however, did not continue for more than several years.[11] The melody of kozachok podil's'kyi likewise entered into the repertoire of dance bands. Unlike the choreography, it remained in their repertoire for many years, and in some bands until the present time.[12]

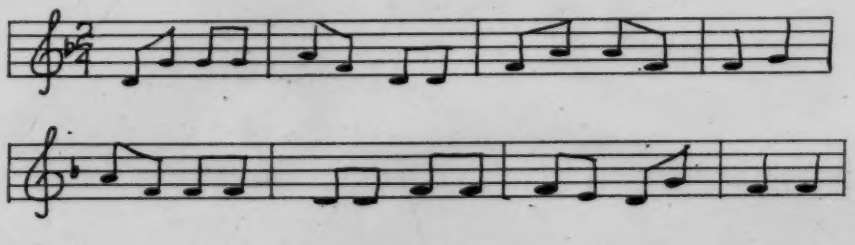
2. Chaban

The chaban was a mixed couple dance that was very widespread and popular in both Smoky Lake and in Swan Plain. The dance was enjoyed by the immigrant generation and their children well into the 1930s.[13] From that time on it was played less often, until now it is played only on rare occasions.[14]

The name chaban (chuban, choban, chabon) refered to a shepherd, and in fact, the dance had once been a male shepherd's dance. The dance spread to Western Ukrainian territories from Hungary[15] or Rumania.[16] It lost its original character and was known as a mixed couple dance before the turn of the century. A number of melodies and songs were used to accompany the different variants of the chaban.[17]

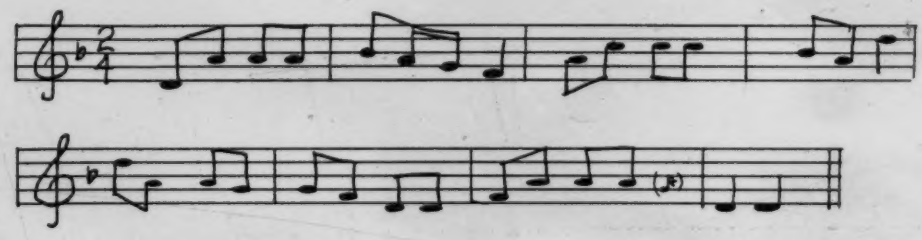
Many of these melodies and texts lost their original rhythmic structure and took on the qualities of the kolomyika (which at that time was very productive in many areas of Western Ukraine). The various chaban melodies common in Smoky Lake and in Swan Plain were all structured in the 14 syllable phrases characteristic of the kolomyika.[18]

One melody was known in Swan Plain.



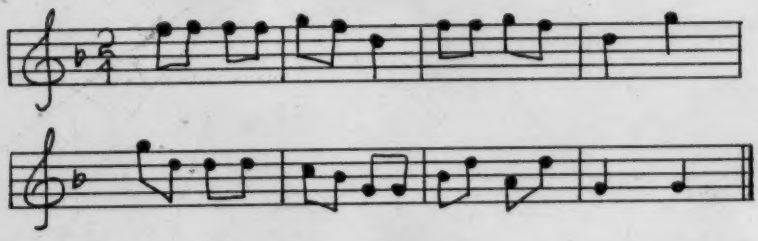
Oi chabane, chabanyku,	Oh shepherd, dear shepherd,
Chabane nebozhe,	Shepherd, poor soul,
Chom ne siiesh, chom ne oresh	Why didn't you sow, why don't you plow
Chabane nebozhe?	Shepherd, poor soul?
Tai chom ne volochesh?	And why don't you harrow?
Chom chabanky ne beresh,	Why aren't you marrying the shepherdess,
I mene ne khochesh?[19]	And why don't you want me?

A second melody was more popular in Smoky Lake.



Oi chabane, chabane, Pokyn' vivtsi pasty. Ne pokynu khoch zahynu, Bom si navchyv krasty.	Oh shepherd, shepherd, Give up herding sheep. I won't even if I die, For I have learned to steal.
Ukrav u popa barana, U diaka iahnychku. Podyvliusy siuda-tuda, Robiesh shybenychku.	You stole a ram from the priest, A lamb from the cantor. I look here and there, And you make a gallows [for yourself].
Shybenychka nevelychka, Lantsiushok tonen'kyi. Podyvliusy siuda-tuda, Khlopets' moloden'kyi.	The gallows are not that big, The chain is thin. I look here and there, You're just a young boy.
Podyvliusi siuda-tuda, Koby trokha dali, Kupyv by ia Romanovi Divchyni korali.	I look here and there, If only I could get a bit farther, I'd buy Roman's girl A necklace of coral.
Oi chabane, chabane, Chabane nebozhe, Chom ne siesh, chom ne oresh? Skarai tebe Bozhe.	Oh shepherd, shepherd, Shepherd, poor soul, Why don't you sow, why don't you plow? May God punish you for this.
A iak meni siiaty? Iak meni oraty? Iak do viis'ka zaberut Khto bude zbyraty?[20]	How can I sow? How can I plow? If they take me away to the army Who will harvest a crop?

Another, older variant of the song was also known in Smoky Lake.



Hoi chabane biliavoi,
Pokyn' vivtsi pasty.
Ne pokynu, khoch zahynu
Bo navchyvsia krasty.

V vechir vkradu baranchyka,
A v dnynu iahnychku,
Pidu subi na iarmarok,
Kupliu molodychku.[21]

Hey shepherd, light-haired one,
Give up herding sheep.
I won't quit until I die
For I have learned to steal.

At night, I'll steal a young ram,
In the day, a lamb,
I'll go down to the market,
And buy myself a young woman.

The song was sung while dancing on occasion, though not often. As in other dances, people who were watching the dance sang the loudest. Bands played the chaban as a strictly instrumental piece as well.[22]

Though the texts of chaban continued to demonstrate a connection with the shepherd theme, the choreogrphy of the dance did not. The dance consisted of one figure which was repeated indefinitely. The step performed in the chaban was found in this dance only. The entire step lasted four measures. In the first measure, the male dancer stepped consecutively on his right foot, then left, then right, to the rhythm of two eight beats and quarter beat.[23] He repeated the

same step in the second and and in the third measures, alternating feet to start with the left foot, then the right again. During the fourth measure, he stamped loudly on each of the quarter beats with his left foot. The sequence was repeated every four measures starting alternatingly with the right and left foot. The two accented stamps on quarter beats of the fourth measure corresponded exactly with the accented quarter notes characteristic of the kolomyika rhythm during that measure.

The man's partner performed the same step, always dancing on the opposite foot, so that she stepped on her left when he stepped on his right. The woman usually stamped less vigorously than the man. The couple faced each other, the man holding his partner by the waist with his right hand, and extending his left forward and to the side. The woman placed her left hand on her partner's right shoulder, and her right hand in his left.[24] During the stamping measure the dancers moved slightly apart so as not to hit each other. The dancers turned clockwise around each other while performing the first three measures of the chaban step.[25]

Occasional variations to the basic step in Smoky Lake consisted of the timing and frequency of the stamping step. As noted above, the stamping occurred normally in the fourth measure of the sequence. Sometimes, the stamp was omitted on this fourth measure, and was executed only on every eighth bar.[26] On other occasions, especially if a man wanted to express his energetic disposition, he stamped on the quarter beats during the second, third, and the fourth measures of the sequence. (Performing only one measure of turns and six stamps in a row).[27]

The presence of the chaban in both Smoky Lake and Swan Plain and its general popularity in both area, as well as its frequent mention in dance and music descriptions from Western Ukraine in the earlier part of this century suggest that the dance was widespread in Halychyna and Bukovyna. The numerous different melodies, texts, and choreography, however, suggest that the dance was unstable, making a transition at that point, possibly losing the Hungarian or Rumanian features as it was being assimilated into a more regular Western Ukrainian form.[28] The dance as performed in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain was likely a newer variant, near the end of that transition. This is evidenced by the very kolomyika-like feature of two accented quarter beats during the fourth measure.[29]

3. Sidemka

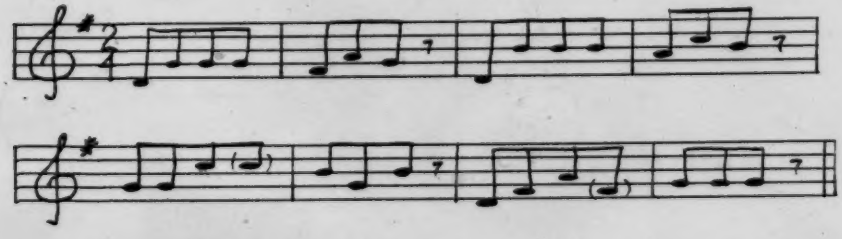
The sidemka or seven-step is said to have originated as the Siebenschritt in Tyrolia. The dance was common throughout German speaking Europe as well as Croatia, parts of Italy and in Scandinavia.[30] It was also known in Poland and parts of Western Ukraine. The dance was known in many variants in these diverse areas.[31]

A variety of names for this dance mostly made reference to the seven consecutive steps prominent in the choreography and rhythm. The name sidemka was derived from the Polish "siódemka," suggesting that the dance was learned from or at least popular among the Polish population in parts of Western Ukraine.[32] The dance was also known as "simka," a more Ukrainian version of the word.[33] The name

rakh-chakh-chakh may have been known in Smoky Lake, derived from syllables sung during one of the seven-step songs.[34] The name "seven-step" or "seven-steps" became popular as contacts were made with non-Ukrainians who knew the dance and as English was spoken more often.[35]

The sidemka was relatively popular in both Swan Plain and Smoky Lake from after immigration and continuing into the 1920s and 1930s. The dance was played less often after that. It has ceased to be played in the Swan Plain area, though it is played on occasion in Smoky Lake by the Radomsky and Kulchisky bands.[36]

The basic melody went as follows:[37]



This melody was known in both Smoky Lake[38] and in Swan Plain.[39] This same melody or variants of it, was basic for this dance in other areas of Western Ukraine.[40] as well as in most of Europe.[41] Though the melody was uniform, a variety of texts were known for this dance. The first text, sung in Smoky Lake, contained many Polish elements, reinforcing the idea that the dance spread via Poland.

Oi ty divko, ne platse,	Oh dear girl, don't cry,
Ia ty za dva zaplatse [?]	I will pay you double [?]
[2]Ia za zabav [?] piontsyk dam	I'll give you a coin for the dance
A-ha-a piontsyk dam.[42]	A-ha-a, I'll give a coin.

A second text was common in both Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.

Mala baba try syny,	An old woman had three sons
Vsi try buly Rusyny.	And all three were Rusyns[43]
Ieden khodyv do shkoly,	One was a schoolboy,
Druhyi robyv pidkovy.	The second made horseshoes.
Tretyi buv sy rozpusniak,	The third was a rascal,
Ne slukhav baby ani iak,..[44]	He never listened to her at all...

This text was considered very funny and <u>risqué</u>, especially later, when it continued:

Nasrav babi v kapusniak[45]	Crapped in the woman's cabbage

A third text was known in Smoky Lake:

Oi khodyv ia do shkoly,	Oh, I went to school,
Uchyv ia vsi litery:	I learned all the letters:
(2) Raz dva try, raz dva try,	One two three, one two three,
Taki buly litery.	Such were the letters.
Oi divchyno, kuda idesh?	Oh dear girl, where do you go?
Skazhe meni, sho nesesh?	Tell me what you carry.
(2) Nesu krupy i muku	I carry groats and flour
I pshenytsiu v kulaku.	And a fistful of wheat.
Oi divchyno chiia ty?	Oh dear girl, whose are you?
Khody zo mnov huliaty.	Come with me to dance.
(2) Ne pytaisy chyia ia.	Don't ask me whose I am.
Bery mene, idu ia.	Take me, I am going.
Iak ty idesh idu ia	If you go, so do I
...	...
...	...
...	...
Oi divchyno shuvorova,	Oh dear girl,
Rubai drova do poroha.	Cut the wood to the threshold.
Rubai drova koroten'ki,	Cut the wood into short pieces,
Liuby khloptsi moloden'ki.[46]	Love the boys who are young.

A fourth text to the <u>sidemka</u> was sung in English in Swan Plain.

One two three four five six seven,
One two three four five six seven,
(2) One two three, one two three,
One two three, one two three.[47]

This text corresponded to what the dancer may have been thinking to himself or herself when concentrating on the dance steps, though it was also sung out loud in the same manner as any of the other texts.[48] This phenomenon of singing numbers was not without precedent in the other Ukrainian texts[49] or in earlier German songs for the Siebenschritt.[50]

The footwork of the sidemka followed very closely the pattern outlined in the fourth text. The dancers joined in couples in polka position. The man stepped to the right with his right foot, then stepped to close with his left, and continued (right, left, right, left, right) to take seven steps travelling sideways to the right. During the next four measures this sequence was repeated to the left. His partner performed the same step, only starting on her other foot so as to mirror her partner. During the second phrase of the melody the dancers stepped to the rhythm of two eighth beats and one quarter beat per measure. This segment of the sequence resembled the basic polka step, and the dancers turned clockwise as they danced.[51]

A number of variations were occasionally danced during the sidemka in recent times in Smoky Lake. These variations mostly affected the last four measures (9th to 12th measures) of the melody. In one variant, the dancers modified the one-two-three step of each measure. The male dancer shifted his weight to the right onto his right foot on the first eighth beat. He closed his feet together and stepped onto his left during the second eighth. On the third beat, he stepped to the side with his right foot again. On the fourth eighth note, the dancer closed his left foot towards the right, and tapped it lightly on the floor. This variant was similar to the basic version of the

step, only with the addition of the tap of the left foot on the last eighth beat. During the tap, the weight remained on the right foot. The left was rebounded back off the floor again, ready to move to the left for the beginning beat of the next measure.[52]

A second variant of the sidemka also became evident in the last four measures of the sequence. While the man continued the basic one-two-three sequence, he lifted his partner's right hand with his left, and she stepped under these hands to turn two revolutions on the spot. While turning, she performed a skipping step. To do this, she took three small running steps (left, right, left) on the first three eighth beats of the ninth measure, then hopped slightly forward on her left foot during the fourth eighth beat. She repeated this sequence three more times in the next three bars, each time starting with the alternate foot. As the twelfth bar finished, she and her partner lowered their raised hands, joined their free arms again into the polka position, and prepared to start the whole sidemka sequence again.[53]

The sidemka was danced similarily in Swan Plain and in Smoky Lake though these forms appear to be relatively different than those recorded in Germany and other areas.[54] These forms were also different than the versions known in Hutsul'shchyna in this century.[55] In Swan Plain and Smoky Lake, the first sequence of the dance was performed in a closed polka position, whereas in most other descriptions, this was not so.[56] The closed polka position likely became popular in areas of Halychyna and Bukovyna as a result of influence from the polka and chaban. These two other dances were similar to the sidemka, especially in terms of the one-two-three (right, left, right) step that they shared. It is not clear whether

the sidemka had fully changed in favour of the closed position in Western Ukraine, or whether other positions (such as standing side-by-side) were also used in Canada in the earlier decades of this century.[57]

4. Polka

The polka is said to have originated in Bohemia in approximately 1830. Within a decade it was taken up by dancemasters and spread as a ballroom dance to Prague, Vienna and Paris. By 1841, the polka made its way to North America, and was causing somewhat of a sensation in the aristocratic society all over the Western World. The polka was controversial and popular because of the closed arm position of the male and female partners (like in the waltz before it) and because of its liveliness. The polka was even more important than the waltz for its role in entrenching round dancing as the basic form of dance for the next three or more generations.[58]

Spreading quickly via the urban upper-class ballrooms, where international contacts and communication were the strongest, the polka then began to filter into the more local dance halls in each area. From there, the dance slowly spread into the smaller rural centres and only after some time into villages more isolated rural areas. Soldiers, too, served as facilitators for the spread of dances between the various areas they served while enlisted and their home towns.[59]

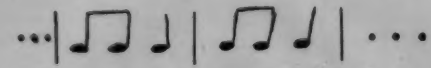
Though the polka had become quite widespread in certain areas of Central Ukraine by the turn of the century,[60] it was considered a very new dance and had not established itself thoroughly in parts of

Western Ukraine by that time. Though soldiers and city-dwellers had danced the polka since the middle of the 19th century, it remained in only their repertoire and around urban centres until after the turn of the century.[61] The polka had become more popular in northern Halychyna[62] than it had in the less accessible regions of Bukovyna[63] or Hutsul'shchyna.[64]

Some of the immigrants from Western Ukraine to Smoky Lake and Swan Plain knew the polka prior to immigration. This was especially true of Halychany in those settlements.[65] The polka was danced only occasionally by the immigrant generation though it was very popular among their children. This increase in popularity was so great that the polka became the most popular dance performed in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain by the 1920s, and continues its "reign" of the social dance repertoire into the present.[66]

The polka's popularity in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain was facilitated by the fact that the dance was also popular among non-Ukrainians in both areas. The simplicity of the dance, too, made it easy to learn and less intimidating to the person who considered himself a poor dancer.

The name "polka" was derived from the Czech "půlka" meaning "half" and referring to the characteristic "half-step" that was executed during the dance. The characteristic rhythm of the polka consisted of two eighth notes and a quarter note



often preceeded by a sixteenth note:[67]

The basic polka step reflected the rhythm of this second example. It was danced with a small hop onto the right foot, landing on the sixteenth note, followed by a sliding step onto the left during the first of the eighth beats. By the second eighth note, the right foot was brought up to step next to the left foot. On the dotted eighth note, the dancer again stepped forward on the left foot. The polka step was then repeated in the next measure beginning with a small hop onto the left foot.[68]

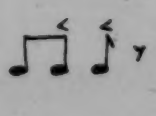
In certain places and in certain variants, the polka step was simplified to reflect the rhythm of two eighth beats and a quarter beat.[69]

In these cases, the preparatory sixteenth note became optional or omitted altogether. The preliminary hop was dropped in many cases, and the original hop-step-close-step evolved into a simpler one-two-three. The basic polka step was generally perceived in this simpler form as it spread into Ukrainian ethnic areas.[70]

While dancing the polka the couple faced each other. The man placed his right hand on the woman's waist or in the small of her back. His left hand was extended to the side and slightly in front. The woman placed her left hand on her partner's right shoulder and

rested her right palm in his left. This arm position was not extremely familiar to the immigrant generation, and at least two other positions were likely used for the polka by certain dancers on certain occasions. The polka was sometimes danced while the couple held each other as for the kozachok. In this position, the man held the woman's waist with both hands. She in turn, placed both hands on his shoulders or neck. Another relatively common polka position by Ukrainians in Western Canada was one in which the man's left hand and the woman's right hand did not touch at all. In this position, the man held the woman more firmly at the small of her back with his right hand. The woman held his right shoulder with her left arm. Tension in the arm was necessary to keep in position when spinning in this position.[71]

The polka became popular in the 19th century because it allowed great freedom for the dancers. They could spin slowly or quickly and in any direction as they danced.[72] The dance's flexibility and adaptability were also appreciated in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain. The dance was simple enough to be performed by almost anyone, and each dancer could dance the polka in his or her own style and energy level. Some dancers for example, threw their legs out in all directions as they danced. Others jumped as they danced the step.[73] When wanting to express their enthusiasm, the men occasionally stamped their foot loudly on the second eighth beat and the quarter beat in a particular measure.[74]



During the 1930s and 1940s, a good dancer was considered one who could

keep the upper half of his or her body erect and still, so that only their feet were moving. Moving from side to side with the feet during the step, and allowing this movement to enter the upper body by tilting sideways on each measure was considered less elegant and less skillful.[75]

Possibly in relation to the two-step, but also because of the structure of its rhythm, the polka was sometimes danced on the off-beat of the music. In these cases, the dancers began the step on the second half of each measure rather than at the beginning.[76]

Each pair of dancers spun as they danced. Most of the time, the dancers rotated in a clockwise direction around their partner. The couples spun relatively slowly and generally at the same rate as the other dancers in early years. Since that time, the rate of rotation has tended to vary more from couple to couple, with some dancers spinning quickly next to others who are nearly standing still. The rate of rotation in recent times varied more according to the dancer's energy, skill, available space, and the tempo of the music.[77]

In parts of Western Ukraine in the first half of this century, the polka was performed by any number of couples arranged in a large circle around the dance area.[78] The polka was rarely or never danced as a circle dance in Smoky Lake or Swan Plain, however. By the time the immigrants moved to Canada, the circle had broken down into individual couples.[79] Each pair travelled wherever it wanted on the dance floor. Though there was a great deal of freedom and variety in the paths of each pair of dancers, it was most common to travel a counterclockwise direction around the dancing space or a segment thereof. The speed of progress along this path varied greatly,

depending on the style of the dancers, their energy, their rate of rotation, available room, and the music.

The polka in many cases replaced the kolomyika, hutsulka, and other dances in the dance repertoire of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain. While local bands still often play hutsulky and other forms, the dancers most often perform the polka at this time.[80] The converse phenomenon also occurs, with the dancers performing the one-step or two-step while the band plays a polka.[81]

5. Heel-and-Toe Polka

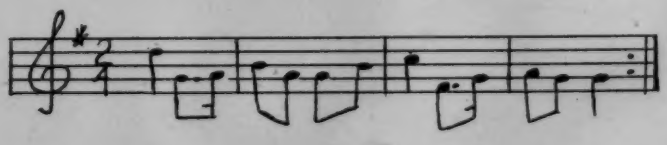
The basic polka gave rise to a large number of variants in the 19th century. Many of these variants, including the heel-and-toe polka, also became popular ballroom dances and spread across Europe and into America at that time.[82]

The heel-and-toe polka apparently did not establish itself generally in Western Ukraine,[83] though variants of the dance were known in Central Ukraine. In these areas they were known by the names oi-ra and pol'ka kytaianka.[84] It is not clear whether this dance had been seen by the emigrants before they left Halychyna and Bukovyna, en route, or after they arrived in Canada.[85] In any case, the dance was new and popular in the very early years of Ukrainian settlement in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake.[86] One informant told a story of how he was taught to dance the "heel-and-toe" as a seven year child with his younger sister. The family was moving from Manitoba to Saskatchewan in 1907, a few years after immigrating. To entertain themselves and to pass the time in the boxcar as they travelled, the

settlers sang and taught their children to dance.[87]

The heel-and-toe was relatively popular in the first three decades of this century in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake. Though it has declined somewhat since, it is still played quite often as a mixer in both locations.[88] The dance is not perceived to be strictly Ukrainian, but rather the shared heritage of a number of nationalities in the area.[89] This reinforcement from a number of sources likely promoted the retention of this dance in the social dance repertoire in these areas.[90]

The most common melody for the heel-and-toe polka was as follows.[91]



This melody was known in Ukrainian as well as non-Ukrainian repertoires.[92]

Though no informants in Smoky Lake or Swan Plain offered texts to this dance, one text was recorded from a woman living in Yorkton, Saskatchewan.

Kanado, Kanado,
Iaka ty zradlyva,
Ne iednoho s muzha
Z zhinkov rozluchyla.
Tom-tom, Kanado,
Tom-tom, Kanado,

Oh Canada, Canada
You are so deceitful,
You've split more than one man
Away from his wife.
Tom-tom, Canada,
Tom-tom, Canada.

Po Kanadi khodzhu,
Roboty shukaiu,
Pyshu lyst do zhinky,
Shtyry farmi maiu.
Tom-tom, Kanado,
Tom-tom, Kanado.

I walk around in Canada,
Looking for a job,
I write a letter to my wife,
That I have four farms.
Tom-tom, Canada,
Tom-tom, Canada.

Po Kanadi khodzhu,	I walk around in Canada,
Tai vushy rakhuiu.	And I count my lice.
De ni nich zakhopyt,	Wherever nightfall finds me,
Tam perenochuiu.	That's where I lay to sleep.
Tom-tom, Kanado,	Tom-tom, Canada,
Tom-tom, Kanado.[93]	Tom-tom, Canada.

The motifs of the song were typical of the immigrant cycle written during the immediate post-emigration period about that experience.[94] An almost identical text was documented as the dance kanada in Western Ukraine.[95] A dance called kanada was reportedly performed in certain villages in Western Ukraine at celebrations marking the departure of fellow villagers to Canada at the beginning of this century.[96] Though the dance is now performed differently, it is possible that the dance kanada was actually the heel-and-toe polka which was spreading into that area precisely at that time.[97] Other song texts to the heel-and-toe rhythmic structure were also recorded in Ukraine.[98]

The heel-and-toe polka contained two short figures which alternated during the duration of the dance. Each figure corresponded with a certain part of the melody and its associated rhythm. The dancers stood side by side, the woman on the man's right side. The woman's left hand was extended out to the side and slightly in front of her, and rested in the man's left hand. The woman bent her right arm sharply at the elbow to hold the man's right hand directly above her right shoulder. The first figure of the dance consisted of travelling forwards in this position. The couples arranged themselves loosely into a large circle travelling counterclockwise around the dancing area. At any time during this figure, a couple could dance into an open space to the inside or outside of the main circle to pass a particularly slow moving couple, or simply to take advantage of the

extra room. The dancers executed the polka step as they travelled, usually both starting on their right foot. In most instances, the simple polka step was used (one-two-three), though certain dancers sometimes preferred to include the preparatory hop on before each measure (hop-one-two-three).[99]

The second figure was more unique and inspired the name for this dance. In the first quarter beat of the first measure, each dancer hopped on his or her left foot and tapped the heel of their right foot to the floor, slightly in front of them. The right ankle was flexed. On the second quarter beat, the dancers hopped again on the left foot, now stretching their right ankles so that they tapped the floor with their toes. The dancers' toes touched the floor in front of their left feet, at the same spot as their heels had touched down one quarter beat earlier.[100] During the second measure, the dancers executed a polka step, starting with their right foot. The male dancer travelled to the right to pass behind his partner, while the female dancer shifted to her left. In the process of changing positions, the woman's left elbow was bent, and her right was straightened, ending up in a position symmetrical to their original stance. These two measures were repeated on the opposite foot during the third and forth bars of this figure. At the end of the forth bar, the dancers found themselves back in their original position with the man on the left and his partner to the right. A slight variation in positioning was sometimes adopted in order to facilitate changing places, especially because it was difficult for the woman to travel far to the left with a polka step on the right foot. The male dancer travelled behind her and the couple turned 90° to each other without

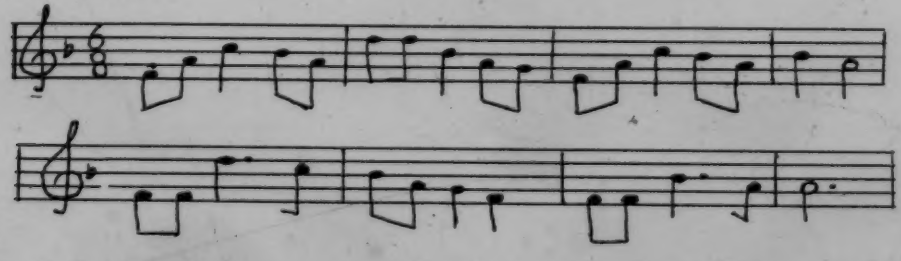
travelling far relative to the floor. During the fourth measure, they returned to their original positions and ended up facing counterclockwise in the large circle once again.[101]

Occasionally, the male dancer took the liberty of altering the step in the second figure to stamp loudly twice during each of the first and third measures. He executed these stamps to the same rhythm and same time that his partner danced "heel-toe."[102]

6. Vasylykha

A dance called vasylykha was remembered by older informants in Smoky Lake. The dance was played to add variety to dances in the first decades after immigration, though it was rarely danced after the 1920s.[103]

The musical structure of vasylykha consisted of two segments, a slower first part, followed by a faster second section.[104] The subject of the song corresponded with the sorrowful slower melody. Vasylykha is the name of a woman, specifically the wife of a man called Vasyl'.



Vasylykho, bude lykho,
Bude Vasyl' byty,
(2) Ai ne bude, Vasylykho,
Komu boronyty.

Vasylykha, there'll be trouble
Vasyl' will beat you,
And there won't be, Vasylykha
Anyone to defend you.

Kazhut' liudy, shcho ia lykha, A ia Vasylykha. (2) Ia sia v pole narobyla, Idu do domu stykha.	People say that I'm bad, But I'm only Vasylykha. I worked hard in the fields, I go home quietly.
Ia sy v pole narobyla Novymy serpamy, (2) Povertaiu do korshmon'ky Pie Vasyl' z kumamy.	I worked hard in the fields With new sickles, I turn in at the tavern Vasyl' is drinking with his kin.
Hodi, hodi Vasylen'ku, Vzhe z kumamy pyty, (2) Khody, khody do domon'ku, Snopy ponosyty.	Enough, enough, dear Vasyl' Of drinking with your kin, Come home now, To carry in the sheaves.
Ta ia zhaty, tai i ne zhav, Zvozyty ne budu, (2) Shche iak pryidu dodomon'ku To tia byty budu.[105]	To harvest, I didn't cut them, And I won't haul them in. But when I get home, I will beat you.

Vasylykha was performed by a mixed couple, or sometimes by two women. In the first figure, the dancers faced each others and sang the words to the song. At the same time, they each leaned forwards to each other as if they were crying on each other's shoulder. They bent first towards one shoulder then the other, and repeated these motions as long as the first, slower part of the melody continued.[106] A variant of this first figure consisted of the dancers swaying from side to side as they sang.[107]

During the second, faster figure of the dance, the couples remained in the same position relative to each other, and spun around. They turned in one direction, then sometimes stopped and reversed directions continuing until the verse ended and the slow, standing figure began again.[108]

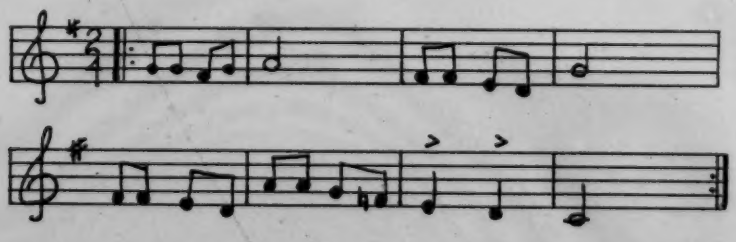
A dance form and a series of song texts called vasylykha were known in Ukraine in the early years of this century.[109] Variants of the text were recorded in various areas of Halychyna and Bukovyna.[110] The similarities between these texts and the Smoky Lake

variant clearly demonstrate a direct link between the songs. In all cases, the dance is bipartite, with a slow tempo corresponding with the first half of each verse, followed by a faster tempo for the remainder. The choreography described in the Verkhovynets', Humeniuk, and Dei publications, however is different than the Smoky Lake dance. In the former three sources, the dance was performed by a circle of girls with one soloist miming and dancing in its centre.[111] The Smoky Lake dance figures may have evolved as a result of the general trend towards couple dances or in relation to other dances. Dances with similar themes and structure were known in Western Europe.[112]

7. Shvets'

The word shvets' in Ukrainian means "cobbler," and a dance of that name illustrated several aspects of a shoemaker's work. Shvets' was danced in Smoky Lake in the first decades of this century, and only rarely after the 1920s.[113] Even during the earlier years, only certain dancers in Smoky Lake knew the dance, while others did not.[114]

The melody of the song was as follows:[115]



Akh mamuniu shvets'!
Akh mamuniu shvets'![116]

Oh dear mother, the cobbler!
Oh dear mother, the cobbler!

The dance involved two or three different figures. In the first and second figures, the dancers performed stylized movements which represented the winding of thread, tying a knot, and sewing, as done by cobblers in the 19th century. The dancers grouped themselves in mixed couples, facing opposite each other.

In the first figure, the dancers stood on the spot with their elbows bent and both hands in front of their torsos. Their wrists were aligned one above the other as they started, and were rotated quickly around each other in small circles. The hands were held in loose fists with the index finger stickig out horizontally,[117] or with their fingertips touching their thumb, miming holding a string.[118] This gesture symbolized winding a string.[119]

At the end of this figure, the dancers pulled their elbows away from each other in very sharp movements, as if tugging on a knot, breaking the thread,[120] or possibly waxing the thread.[121] This jerking movement was performed twice consecutively.[122]

The second figure of the dance involved clapping. In one variant, the dancers clapped two times consecutively, then mimed sewing an imaginary shoe. In one hand, they held the needle, bringing it in and alternately pulling it away from the other hand (which held the shoe).[123] In another possible variant, each dancer clapped hands first, then clapped his/her right hand to his/her partner's right, then left to left.[124]

A third figure also probably existed. At this time, the dancers joined together and turned or danced the polka.[125]

Dances referring to the shoemaker theme were known throughout many areas of Ukraine, often called <u>shevchyky</u> or <u>shevchyk</u>. This dance type

was best known in Central Ukraine, where it involved one or two male soloists miming the activities of a cobbler for a circle of spectators.[126] Neither this form of *shevchyky* nor the Smoky Lake type *shvets'* was apparently common in parts of Halychyna nor Bukovyna at the turn of the century.[127]

Shoemakers' dances were also known in Western Europe, and variants are documented from Denmark and Silesia.[128] The Silesian variant resembled the Smoky Lake form very closely in terms of rhythm and melody. The dance was called *švec* and furthermore, the first two figures described were the same as those known in Smoky Lake.[129] It is apparent that this dance (recorded by 1929), was related to the Smoky Lake form. Variants of this dance were likely spreading into Bukovyna at the turn of the century. Such a spread would have been facilitated by the official status of the German Language in Austro-Hungarian lands (including Bukovyna) in the period prior to the mass emigration to Canada.

8. *Zhyd*

A dance called *zhyd* (the Jew) was known in Smoky Lake in the first several decades of Ukrainian settlement there. The dance became relatively rare after the 1930s, but was still occasionally played after that time until recently.[130] The dance was also sometimes called *zhydivka* (the Jewess), changing to its feminine form.[131]

Western Ukraine in the late 19th century was home to a relatively large Jewish population. Jews often functioned as merchants, bankers, and tavern owners in rural Halychyna and Bukovyna. Conflicts arising

between merchant and farmer were not uncommon. This dance reflected some of this stress and portrayed the Jew as a comical and derogatory character.

Zhyd was danced in two figures in Smoky Lake. The music also consisted of two different segments. A slower, more sustained melody corresponded to the first figure, while a faster tempo was used for the second figure. The first figure was characterized by a descending melodic line. The second melody was possibly not unique to this dance, and may have been a regular polka.[132]

In the first figure of the dance, the paired dancers stood several paces from each other. Feigning a very formal and reverend attitude, they bowed deeply towards each other. After this, they turned and bowed again towards other dancers in the area. The comical and farcical element in the dance was brought out by the fact that the dancers turned their backs to their own partners. On occasion, one dancer would be bowing towards his or her partner, but would be presented with a protruding backside rather than a polite reciprocation. In the second figure of the dance, the partners joined and danced a polka.[133]

In traditional Ukrainian "body language," turning one's back to a partner was considered a sign of disrespect or at least lack of attention. Emphasizing one's buttocks was understood as a strong insult.[134] The appeal of the dance lay in the irony that the "Jew" was trying to be proprietous, yet by that very attempt was still offending people in another direction. The dance was prone to arousing reactions among the dancers themselves (and inevitably livened up the party), as normally unacceptable behaviour was at least partially

sanctioned within this context.

Dances with this bowing motif were known in Hutsul'shchyna and other regions in Western Ukraine in the first half of this century by the name of pip (the priest) or sometimes bluntly as srakun (literally "the ass dance")or zasranyi ("the crappy dance"). These variants were often mens' circle dances which started and ended with kolomyika-type characteristics. The second of three figures involved the slow bowing to the centre and to the outside of the circle.[135] The Smoky Lake variant evidently emerged as a result of the continual breakdown of the circle formations in favour of paired dances, and the increasing influence of the polka. The reference to Jews is not uncommon in dance forms and dance music of Western Ukraine. These references are sometimes, but not always, derogatory.[136]

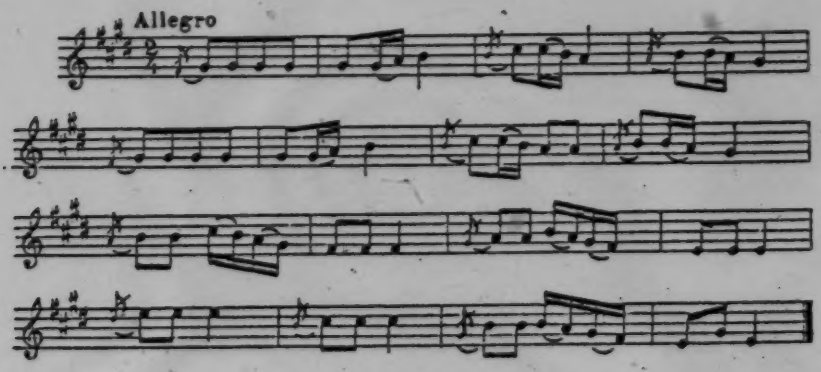
9. Tsyhan

A dance called tsyhan was vaguely remembered by informants in Smoky Lake.[137] Tsyhan means "gypsy." The specific form of the dance was not remembered, though it was associated with zhyd. Tsyhan may have been simply another name for the dance zhyd,[138] or it may have existed as a separate entity.[139]

10. Strashok

Strasak was a Czech dance-song[140] that spread beyond its original territory and, for a time, was enjoyed as a social dance in Western Ukraine. The dance was known in Boikivshchyna by approximately

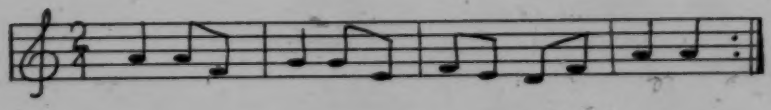
1900.[141] It spread across Halychyna by the first and second decades of this century.[142] The dance was performed in Swan Plain in the earlier years of Ukrainian settlement there. It was not an extremely popular dance at any time, and was not remembered clearly by informants.[143]

The most notable feature of the dance, that feature that gave it its name, was the waving of the forefingter at the dancer's partners as if threatening or scolding them (the name strashok was derived from the verb "strashyty" - "to frighten or threaten").[144] Variants recorded in Czechoslovakia as well as Boikivshchyna and other areas of Halychyna were very similar in terms of their choreography and melody.[145]

The strashok melody known in Swan Plain was very likely similar to this. Choreographically, it was likely similar or possibly it existed in a simplified form. The strashok consisted of three figures. In the first figure, the paired dancers performed the polka in a circle. In the second figure, the dancers stood on the spot, raised their right forefingers, and waved scoldingly at their partners. They then repeated the action with their left hands. The second figure also

involved stamping their feet and clapping. The movements were inspired by the text of the Czech song in which a young girl scolded a boy for his vandalous disruptions. It is not known if the text was known (or adapted) in Halychyna or in Swan Plain.[146]

11. Hanusia

A dance called hanusia was known in Swan Plain and enjoyed from the earliest years of settlement until the 1940s, when its popularity declined.[147] "Hanusia" is a girl's name. This dance was associated with one specific melody and song text.

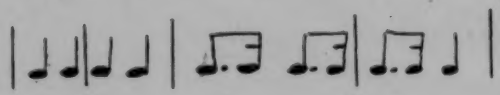


Hanusiu, Hanusiu,
Chy pidesh za mene?
Hanusiu, Hanusiu,
Chy pidesh za mene?[148]

Hanusia, Hanusia,
Will you marry me?
Hanusia, Hanusia,
Will you marry me?

Hanusia was danced in one or two figures. The dance was performed in a closed polka position. The first figure consisted of a four-measure step sequence which was unique to this dance. During the first two bars, the male dancer stepped onto his left, then right, left, right in four even quarter beats. During the third and fourth measures, he skipped sideways, or galloped to the left three times. The gallop was performed to the rhythm of dotted eighth notes each followed by a sixteenth notes. The dancer stepped to the left on the dotted eighth note, springing into the air and moving to the left. He

landed on his right foot, (which had been brought to close near the left) during the sixteenth note. On the last quarter note of the fourth measure, the dancer stepped firmly onto his left to stop his sideways momentum. The rhythm of the Hanusia step, then was as illustrated.

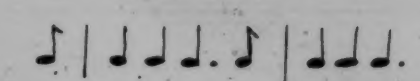


After the fourth measure, the dancer repeated the step sequence to the other side. His partner danced exactly the same steps, though mirroring them on the opposite foot. The dancers turned during this dance. It is not clear whether this turn was executed during the first two measures of the first figure sequence, or whether the dance involved a second, polka-like figure.[149]

The dance-song hanusia appears to have been locally specific rather than having widespread popularity in Ukraine in this century.[150] Dance forms similar to this may have existed, though they were not called hanusia and were not prominent dance forms throughout parts of Western Ukraine.[151] The galloping movements of the dance, however, closely resemble the steps of a dance called the galop or galopade which was popular in Western European ballrooms in the 19th century. The galop originated in German-speaking areas where it was known as the Hopser or Rutscher.[152] It was a round dance[153] consisting of an indefinite number of gallops (sideways skips as in the third and fourth measures of hanusia). Because this step was strenuous for the leading foot, galop dancers changed directions,

switching feet at various intervals. In some variants, the change of direction was prescribed at four-gallop intervals.[154]

The basic rhythm of the Hopser (galop) was originally as follows.[155]

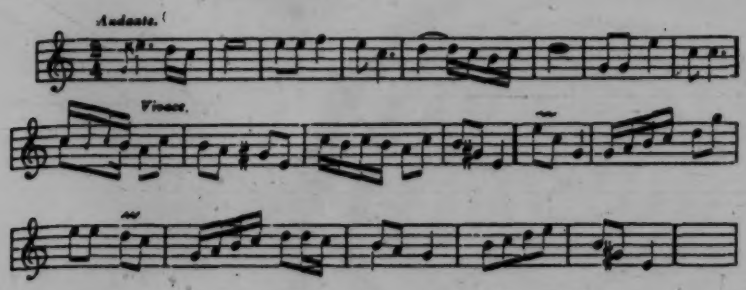


The hanusia rhythm did not correspond with this, but rather resembled the kolomyika form more closely.[156] It appears, then, that hanusia evolved out of a Hopser (galop) form and adopted a more standard Western Ukrainian musical form modelled on the kolomyika.

12. Hora

The Rumanian dance hora was known in several variants in Hutsul'shchyna and other areas in Ukraine at the end of the 19th century.[157] The dance was apparently not known in the area of Toporivtsi (from where many Smoky Lake area settlers came),[158] though it was known in parts of Bukovyna at that time.[159] The Rumanian population just north of Smoky Lake and around Willingdon and Beavallon, Alberta danced the hora for many years,[160] and the dance was also performed in Smoky Lake.[161] In Smoky Lake, the dance was known as hora mara,[162] and mary hora[163] as well as simply hora. The word "mara" or "mary" was derived from the Rumanian adjective "maret," meaning "large" or "great."[164]

The hora melody was commonly found in the repertoire of dance bands

in Alberta.[165] The melody of the hora was often bipartite, consisting of a slow first section and a faster second part.[166]

Though the dance was not well remembered by informants, it is apparent that the basic step for the hora was unique. The movement consisted of stepping to the side, then sliding the second foot closed. This step was repeated a number of times, then followed with a series of stamps.[167] This step apparently was performed during the first musical phrase, and the dancers turned as in the hutsulka or the polka, or in a fashion peculiar to the hora during the faster music.[168]

13. Chardash

The chardash (or czardash, cheredash)[169] known in Smoky Lake was derived from the Hungarian csardas.[170] The chardash had spread from its original territory into parts of Western Ukraine,[171] though apparently not to Toporiwtsi prior to 1910.[172]

In the Smoky Lake area, the chardash was associated with gypsies,[173] or more often with the Rumanians in that area.[174] The dance was considered relatively similar to the hora. It was

apparently danced on occasions by Ukrainians in the Smoky Lake area. The dance was performed by couples, though its choreographic form was not remembered.[175] Instrumental arrangements of the chardash remain in the repertoire of the Radomsky orchestra.[176]

14. Keriak

A dance and musical piece called the keriak was known in the Smoky Lake area.[177] The dance was perceived as a slow form of polka. It was played several times during a dance in the earlier decades of this century. Because of its tempo, it was suitable as a relaxing, resting dance or for older dancers. The dance was perceived as being brought to the area by the Ukrainian immigrants.[178] Its origins were not identified during the course of this study.

15. Shnel' pol'ka

Aside from the basic form of the polka itself, the heel-and-toe polka, and the keriak, there were many other lesser-known variants of this popular dance. Among these other variants was the shnel' pol'ka which was apparently danced by some residents of both Smoky Lake[179] and Swan Plain.[180]

The Schnell-Polka or Polka schnell was a lively variant of the polka similar to the galop, which was very popular in German speaking countries during the second half of the 19th century.[181] The form of this dance in the Canadian prairies is not known. In Smoky Lake, the shnel' pol'ka was apparently danced by the Halychany for the most

part.[182] Several Halychany who emigrated to Swan Plain spent a year or more in Germany en route. They may have come into contact with the shnel' pol'ka at that time.[183] The diffusion of German culture associated with the official status of the German language in Austro-Hungary in the 19th century also facilitated the spread of the shnel' pol'ka into Western Ukrainian areas.

16. Hopping Polka

Another variant of the polka in Swan Plain was described as the "hopping polka."[184] This dance was performed during the middle part of this century, and was known by the children of the immigrant generation.[185] This dance could be performed by any couple while the other dancers were doing a regular polka. There was no specific melody for this dance. The hopping polka was more strenous and difficult than a regular polka. The dance involved inserting an extra hop into each measure (and into each polka step). The partners needed to hold firmly onto each other and to watch not to collide with the other dancers on the floor. It was performed while travelling and spinning quite quickly.[186] It is very possible that the "hopping polka" consisted of the basic polka step with the prepatory sixteenth note "hop" included. The rhythm of the footwork in this dance was:

Such a dance was called the "German Polka" in other areas of Saskatchewan. The dance incorporated relatively large travelling

steps, the partners revolving 180° each measure.[187]

17. Hory pol'ka

A dance called hory pol'ka was remembered by one informant in Smoky Lake. The dance was performed in the first two decades of this century. Though the informant claimed the dance was different than other forms, it is possible that the hory pol'ka was related or identical to the keriak, shnel' pol'ka or possibly the hora.[188]

18. Kopanka

A dance form called kopanka was suggested by an informant from Swan Plain. The word "kopanka" may be associated with the verb "kopaty" (to kick.) The informant was unable to describe the dance.[189]

19. Sidanka

A dance called sidanka, like kopanka, was vaguely remembered by a Swan Plain informant.[190] The word "sidanka" suggests the verb "sidaty" which means "to sit" and is often used in relation to the mens' squatting steps haiduky or prysiadky. The existence or description of this dance are unconfirmed. It may be a distortion of sidemka, and actually refer to the seven-step.

20. Sheepskin

The name "sheepskin" was used for a dance known in Swan Plain until the 1930s and 1940s. The dance was played at a relatively slow tempo, related somewhat to a chaban.[191] The couples turned first in one direction, then the other way while dancing the sheepskin.[192]

Though a number of informants remembered the dance generally, they could not describe the choreographic figures clearly. The names "sheepskin" (often associated with "sheepskin coat") and "shuba" (which means a "fur coat" in Russian and in some Ukrainian dialects) suggest a connection between the two dance sorms. This suggestion is reinforced by the absence of any other Ukrainian name for the sheepskin dance. The dance descriptions, however, differed, and no choreographic connection has been made to date.

B. Partner-Changing Dances

Partner changing dances were generally based upon couple dances. They contained an additional element wherein the males or females left their original partners at some cue and continued to dance with someone else. Though this type of dance was not particularly common in Western Ukraine during the mass migration to Canada, the concept was not totally unknown.[193]

1. Broom Dance

A partner-changing dance known as the "broom dance" existed in both

Swan Plain and Smoky Lake.[194] The dance was performed by the immigrant generation from the earliest years. It was also known by Canadian-born generations, and was danced at least up to 1953 in Swan Plain.[195]

The broom dance was not a independent dance form but was rather the name of a variation that could be applied to other forms. Sometimes, for example, a polka was designated as a broom dance. The special activities of the broom dance were then organized into the dance while the musicians played (and most dancers danced) a polka. As the couples began to dance, one male dancer without a partner was given a broom to dance with. At a certain point, he threw the broom on the floor. The sound of the broom was the cue for each dancer to change partners. As the lone dancer could drop the broom at any time, he had an advantage and could generally secure a partner. Since there was one extra man on the dance floor, someone soon found that all the girls had been "taken." This person then was left to pick up the broom and dance with it until he, in turn, dropped it and the changes continued.[196] It appears that the extra dancer was sometimes penalized and forced to perform some humourous task before the dance continued.[197]

The broom dance apparently originated in Germany and existed in a very similar form in German speaking Europe.[198] Like shvets' and shnel' pol'ka, the broom dance's spread into Western Ukraine was facilitated by the common use of German in Austro-Hungary.

2. Holub

A dance vaguely remembered by an informant near Smoky Lake was

called holub. Holub refered to a dove, and related to a short verse that was chanted by the dancers.

Oi holuby,	Oh dove,
Cho ty stoish?[199]	Why are you standing there?

The dancers singing this phrase were dancing a polka, arranged in a circle around a lone person standing at its centre. The singing dancers were taunting the single person, asking rhetorically why he was not dancing. The dance functioned somewhat like the broom dance. At a given cue, the centre person grabbed a female partner. All the other males had to change partners, and one of them inevitably would soon find himself the lone dove standing in the centre.[200]

A partner changing dance wherein the coupled dancers stood in a circle around an extra male dancer was also known in Austria. It was called the Schuasta-Polka.[201]

Aside from the 15 group dances discussed in Chapter III, up to 22 additional dances of European origin were known by the Ukrainians of Swan Plain and/or Smoky Lake. The largest number of dances were couple dances, including kozachok, chaban, sidemka, polka, heel-and-toe polka, vasylykha, shvets', zhyd, tsyhan', strashok, hanusia, hora, chardash, shnel' pol'ka, hopping polka, sheepskin, and possibly keriak, kopanka, and sidanka. The broom dance and holub were basically couple dances as well, though they were characterized by the added feature of changing partners in the course of the dance. Some of the dance forms ceased to be played in time, though others remain popular.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV: COUPLE DANCES KNOWN PRIOR TO IMMIGRATION

1. Kozachok

1. See the description of the kozak in Chapter III above.

2. Dmytro Kowch, Katharina Piwowar, Metro Radomsky used the term kozak, whereas Sophie Tataryn and Russell Kulchisky called it kozachok.

3. The Group Five, The Group Five Presents Ukrainian Champagne, Bee Records, BR 1001; Victor Pasowisty, Ukrainian Feast, RCA KCLI-0069, 1974; Walter "Clyde" Rutka The Ukrainian Cowboy Sings His Own Ukrainian Country Comedy, Galaxy Records GSLP-1038.

4. See the rhythmic figures described as fundamental for the kozak in Chapter III above.

5. Dmytro Kowch.

6. Katharina Piwowar.

7. Sophie Tataryn claimed that the kolomyika and kozachok are simply different names for the same dance. The kozachok was commonly danced in groups arranged in a circle in Hutsul'shchyna. See Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 287-90.

8. Sophie Tataryn, Russell Kulchisky.

9. John Babichuk, Nick Tataryn, Metro Radomsky.

10. See Avramenko, Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky, pp. 27-30.

11. Suggested by Nick Tataryn, John Babichuk.

12. Metro Radomsky.

2. Chaban

13. Many informants remembered the chaban first when trying to remember older dances. Dmytro Kowch, Sophie Tataryn, John Tataryn, Mary Tataryn, Nick Tataryn, Bill Nahachewsky, Maria Nahachewsky, Nick Nahachewsky, Alana Viteychuk, Alex Krytor, Russell Kulchisky, Metro Radomsky, John Babichuk, Jean Babichuk, Fruzyna Gelech, Katharina Piwowar, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

14. Metro Radomsky indicated that he enjoys playing the chaban occasionally at the end of a dance when a few older dancers are willing.

15. Kolberg, pp. 6-7.

16. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 238.

17. See Kolberg, pp. 67-70; Mierczyński, p. 144; Bazhan'skyi, Halytski mel'odyi, IVa sotnia, p. 9; Humeniuk, Instrumental'na muzyka, pp. 311-13.

18. See "kolomika" above.

19. Sophie Tataryn, Nick Nahachewsky. Compare the text with the verse in Bazhan'skyi, Halytski mel'odyi, IVa sotnia, p. 9.

20. Katharina Piwowar.

21. Fruzyna Gelech, June 26.

22. Primrose Trio, "Chaban," Primrose Trio Play Ukrainian Folk Songs, vol. 2, VLP 3023, side 2, cut 5.

23. This is similar to the one-two-three of the polka, described below.

24. This position is similar to that used in the polka and waltz. It is called the polka position throughout this study.

25. The turning step is the same as one described for the chaban by Harasymchuk in "Rozvytok," p. 240. In Harasymchuk's description this step is used as figure 2 of the dance. A different dance step is described in Kolberg, pp. 6-7.

26. Katharina Piwowar.

27. Alex Krytor.

28. The dance had lost its original context with the disappearance of "chabany" in their original form sometime in the 19th century. It appears to have evolved into a mixed couple dance almost everywhere in Western Ukraine during the second half of the 19th century. It was during or soon after this change that the various areas readjusted the choreographic elements, resulting in slightly different dances in Pokuttia (Kolberg, pp. 6-7), Hutsul'shchyna (Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok,"pp. 237-40) and other areas (Canadian informants). It is also possible that a number of different older dances associated with the name chaban were interacting and merging, or the the dance was merging with some other form(s).

29. As described above.

3. Sidemka

30. See Audrey Bambra and Muriel Webster, Teaching Folk Dance (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1972), p. 42; Anne Schley Duggan, Jeanette Schlottmann and Abbie Rutledge, Folk Dances of European Countries (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1948), p. 57; Wolfram, Die Volkstänze, pp. 159-61.

31. See Wolfram, pp. 159-61; Duggan, Schlottmann and Rutledge, pp. 57-59; Bambra and Webster, pp. 42-48; Marie Effie Shambaugh, Folk Festivals for Schools and Playgrounds (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1932), pp. 71-72; Lee, pp. 54-55; and others.

32. Maria Nahachewsky, Metro Radomsky, Alex Krytor, Fruzyna Gelech, Metro Radomsky. Elizabeth Nikolaychuk; See also Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 468-69.

33. Dmytro Kowch. Harasymchuk also uses the name "sim-sim" for this dance. See "Rozvytok," pp. 468-72.

34. Alex Krytor remembered the name rakh-chakh-chakh, though he could not remember the dance it referred to. Harasymchuk noted that this name was used for the sidemka in Kosmach. See "Rozvytok," p. 469.

35. Alena Viteychuk, Metro Radomsky, John Babichuk, Joe Michalchuk, Russell Kulchisky, Alex Krytor, Metro Radomsky. Elizabeth Nickolaychuk, Katharina Piwowar, Bill Nahachewsky, John Tataryn.

36. Metro Radomsky, John Babichuk. John Babichuk claimed that this is the only old time Ukrainian dance that Russell Kulchisky knows. He played the seven-step at the senior citizens' birthday party on July 12, 1984.

37. This melody was hummed by Dmytro Kowch.

38. Russell Kulchisky, Alex Krytor, Fruzyna Gelech, Katharina Piwowar, Metro Radomsky, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

39. Maria Nahachewsky, Mary Kurytnik.

40. Six variants of the same melody are labelled as siodemki and printed in Harasymchuk "Melodie taneczne," pp. 50-51.

41. The same melody is given in Duggan, Schlottmann, and Rutledge, p. 59; Bambra and Webstser, pp. 44-45, Shambaugh, p. 71; Lee, p. 54 and others.

42. Alex Krytor.

43. "Rusyn," sometimes translated as "Ruthenian," was the name by which many Western Ukrainians called themselves.

44. Variants were sung by Mary Kurtynik, Fruzyna Gelech and Metro Radomsky.

45. This motif was known in both Smoky Lake and Swan Plain, and likely originated prior to the informants' emigration from Western Ukraine. A version of this song (without the fecal references) was recorded as a polka song in Bukovyna in 1959, and published in Dei, Tantsiuval'ni pisni, p. 614.

46. Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

47. Dmytro Kowch, Maria Nahachewsky.

48. Dmytro Kowch, Maria Nahachewsky. Among the immigrant generation, this text may have connoted a feeling of "Canadian-ness," expressed by the dancers as they practiced pronouncing the numbers in English.

49. As in the first verse of the third text above.

50. See Bambra and Webster, p. 42 and Duggan, Schlottmann, and Rutledge, p. 57, where two different German texts each begin with "Ein, zwei, drei, vier, fünf, sechs, sieb'n."

51. See the description of the polka step below. This segment of the sidemka sequence is also identical to the second figure of the chaban variation described by Harasymchuk "Rozvytok," p. 240.

52. Performed at the senior citizens' birthday party on July 12, 1984. It is possible that this variant emerged under influence from the two-step.

53. Performed at the senior citizens' birthday party on July 12th, 1984. The woman's skipping and turning may have existed as a sidemka variant since emigration, or more likely influenced by the schottische. This movement was common in the schottische.

54. See Duggan, Schlottmann and Rutledge, pp. 57-58; Bambra and Webster, pp. 42-43 and 46-48; Shambaugh, p. 70; and Lee, pp. 54-55.

55. Harasymchuk "Rozvytok," pp. 469-72.

56. In most descriptions the first part of the dance is performed with the dancers positioned side by side.

57. The closed position did evolve in Hutsul'shchyna. This may be explained by the suggestion that the Hutsuls were less receptive to the chaban, polka, and seven-step than were people in Halychyna and Bukovyna. Harasymchuk emphasis that the Hutsuls were particularly unaccustomed to the turning one-two-three step (with eighth and quarter beats, and alternating feet each

measure). See "Rozvytok," p. 467 and 472.

4. Polka

58. Round dances are couple dances in which the partners spin around each other. Lloyd Shaw, The Round Dance Book, (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1948), pp. 66-67; Beth Tolman and Ralph Page, The Country Dance Book (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co.,1937), pp. 127-29. The heel-and-toe polka, shnel' pol'ka, kreits pol'ka, and hopping polka, are variants of the polka which were known in Swan Plain and Smoky Lake. The schottische is also related.

59. Shukhevych, p. 80; Harasymchuk "Rozvytok," pp. 465-67.

60. Harasymchuk "Rozvytok," p. 465.

61. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 466.
Shukhevych, p. 80. The polka is not mentioned at all by Kolberg in describing the dances of Pokuttia in 1888.

62. Metro Radomsky. Joe Michalchuk, Katharina Piwowar.

63. Nick Gelech, June 26.

64. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 467-68.

65. Metro Radomsky. Joe Michalchuk, Katharina Piwowar.

66. Russell Kulchisky, John Babichuk, Metro Radomsky, Katharina Piwowar, Fruzyna Gelech, Maria Nahachewsky.

67. Gracian Černušak and Andrew Lamb, "Polka" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed.

68. Tolman and Page, p. 129-30; Shaw, pp. 69-71,72-73.

69. Shaw, p. 70.

70. Humeniuk, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi, (1963), p. 23; Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 465.

71. These arm positions were seen by the author on various occasions at dances in Alberta and Saskatchewan. They were generally popular in the prairies, though no specific individual performance was recorded during research for this project in either Swan Plain or Smoky Lake. See these positions in Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 467 and 465 respectively.

72. Tolman and Page, p. 128.

73. Maria Nahachewsky.

74. Executed at the Smoky Lake senior citizens' birthday party on July 12, 1984.

75. John and Jean Babichuk.

76 Approximately 10-20% of the polka dances danced on the off-beat during the Smoky Lake senior citizens' birthday party on July 12, 1984.

77. John and Jean Babichuk.

78. Katharina Piwowar. See also Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 465.

79. Katharina Piwowar

80. Evidenced at the Smoky Lake senior citizens' birthday party on July 12, 1984.

81. Ibid.

5. Heel-and-Toe Polka

82. See Eleanor Ely Wakefield, Folk Dancing in America (New York: J. Lowell Pratt and Co., 1966), p. 78; Tolman and Page, p. 131.

83. The dance apparently is mentioned in neither Kolberg, Shukhevych, Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," nor in Roman Harasymchuk, "Boikivs'ki varianty rossis'kykh, ches'kykh, pol's'kykh, uhors'kykh ta nimets'kykh tantsiv" [Variants of Russian, Czech, Polish, Hungarian, and German Dances in the Region of Boikivshchyna], in Materialy z etnohrafii ta mystetstvoznavstva, vypusk 7-8 (Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk, 1962).

84. Oi-ra was recorded in Borodians'kyi raion, Kyivs'ka oblast, and in the village of Myhalky, Kyivs'ka oblast by Andrii Humeniuk in Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi, film, 1955 (films 1 and 2 respectively). Pol'ka kytaianka was also recorded in Myhalky during the same film expedition (film 2). A dance called "oyda" was described as a Russian dance in Fox and Merril, p. 51. All four of these dances are variants of the heel-and-toe polka quite similar to the Smoky Lake and Swan Plain forms.

85. Some informants believed that it was brought from the old country (Metro Radomsky, John Babichuk) whereas others disagreed (Dmytro Kowch, Katharina Piwowar). The fact that very similar variants were done in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain (placing the toe in front of the other foot during the step was typical), similar dance positions and evidence from song texts suggest that these variants of the dance did, in fact, originate in Ukraine. On the other hand, the lack of a Ukrainian name for the dance at present in either Smoky Lake or Swan Plain, plus the dance's notable

absence in historical studies of Western Ukraine support the arguement that heel-and-toe polka was learned in Canada. If the dance indeed was not learned until after immigration, its description belongs in Chapter V, below.

86. Dmytro Kowch, Fruzyna Gelech, Metro Radomsky.

87. Dmytro Kowch.

88. Metro Radomsky, Russell Kulchisky.

89. John Babichuk.

90. Tolman and Page (p. 132) noted that in the Eastern States in 1930s the heel-and-toe polka retained its popularity specifically in areas populated by Finns, Scandinavians, and Poles.

91. Katharina Piwowar, Metro Radomsky, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

92. Lee, p. 88.

93. Sung to Robert Klymasz by Kateryna Obuck in Yorkton, July 9, 1964. "Klymasz Collection," no. F-290, disc 64-2, track 1, item 5.

94. See Klymasz, Immigrant Folksong Cycle, and earlier publications such as Theodore Fedyk, Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriiu, 5th ed. (Winnipeg: Ruska Knyharnia, 1914).

95. Recorded by S.H. Pushyk in the Halyts'kyi raion, Ivano-Frankivs'ka oblast'. Published in M.H. Bochko "Z novykh zapysiv emihrants'ko-zarobitchans'kykh pisen'" in Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1974, no. 2, pp. 91-92.

96. As told to A. Nahachewsky by a fellow student in the Kyiv Institute of Culture in 1980. The student's first name was Alla. She grew up near the city of Ternopil' in Western Ukraine.

97. M. H. Bochko, "Z novykh zapysiv emihrants'ko-zarobitchans'kykh pisen'" [From New Recordings or Emigrant-Migrant Workers' Songs], Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia, 1974, no. 2, p. 91. Bochko stated that the dance kanada continued to be performed in some villages until the time of his article (1974). At that later time, it was danced like a krakoviak or iabluchko.

98. Such as "Kolys' moia stara nen'ka," "Oi pidu ia na muzyky," and "Tup, tup, nizhen'kamy, ts'ok, ts'ok, pidkivkamy," found in Dei, Tantsiuval'ni pisni, pp. 121-23.

99. This dance was performed at the Smoky Lake senior citizens' birthday party on July 12, 1984. Mike Perepylytsia, a 40 year

old dancer, usually danced with the hopping preparation though other dancers did not.

100. The fact that the heel and toe were both touched to the floor in front of the supporting foot lends substance to the arguement that this dance was brought to Canada by the Ukrainian immigrants. This same positioning is documented in the description of the oyda (Fox and Merril, p. 51) and in the oi-ra and pol'ka kytaianka in the Humeniuk films. In Western European and North American variants, however, the character of the "heel-and-toe" movement was apparently quite different. In all seven identified descriptions, the heel is placed forward or to the side of the dancers during the first beat, then that foot is moved backwards to place the toe on the floor behind the dancer on the second beat. (Lee, pp. 88-89, Wakefield, pp. 78-79; Tolman and Page, pp. 133-34; Shaw, pp. 74-75). This characteristic is emphasized in a Swedish variant (Lee, p. 89), when the dancers leaned their torsos back as the heel tapped forward,then leaned forward as the toe tapped behind.

101. Smoky Lake senior citizens' birthday party, July 12, 1984.

102. Ibid. This variation was enjoyed by Mike Perepylytsia.

6. Vasylykha

103. Fruzyna Gelech, Metro Radomsky, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk, Alex Krytor.

104. Sung by Katharina Piwowar and Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

105. Elizabeth Nickolaychuk. The first verse of this song was also remembered by Fruzyna Gelech, Katharina Piwowar, and Metro Radomsky.

106. Fruzyna Gelech, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

107. Metro Radomsky.

108. Fruzyna Gelech, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk, Metro Radomsky.

109. Vasylykha is classified as an individual type of thematic dance with seven variant texts in Dei, Tantsiuval'ni pisni, pp. 471-75. The music and dance are also described in Verkhovynets', Teoriia, pp. 97-98 and 128-29 and Humeniuk, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi (1968), pp. 432-44.

110. See Dei, Tantsiuval'ni pisni, p.276.

111. Dei, Tantsiuval'ni pisni, p. 471; Verkhovynets', Teoriia, pp. 97-98, Humeniuk, Ukrains'ki naraodni tantsi (1968), pp. 432-44.

112. The "Grief Dance" is recorded in Mary Wood Hinman, Gymnastic and

Folk Dancing: volume 3, Ring Dances Singing Games, (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., [n.d.]), p. 33. In the grief dance, the story of the text is different, but the structure is the same in that the dancers move sadly, then happily in each verse. Grief dance was apparently a couple dance.

7. Shvets'

113. Fruzyna Gelech, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk, Metro Radomsky.

114. Fruzyna Gelech.

115. Metro Radomsky.

116. Elizabeth Nickolaychuk. Only the first two lines of this song were remembered.

117. Metro Radomsky, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

118. Fruzyna Gelech.

119. Ibid.

120. Fruzyna Gelech. An identical movement in other cobblers' dances was described as "breaking the thread." See Mary E. Shambaugh Folk Dances for Boys and Girls (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1929), p. 39; Belford, [n.p]; and Hall, p. 63.

121. This movement is described as waxing the thread in a similar dance in Mary Wood Hinman, p. 53.

122. Fruzyna Gelech.

123. Ibid.

124. Metro Radomsky. This clapping sequence is very similar to that done in the children's game "patticake."

125. No informant actually mentioned a polka-like figure, though it may have been taken for granted. A polka was performed in a Silesian cobbler dance which was otherwise very similar to the Smoky Lake form. See Shambaugh, Boys and Girls, p. 39.

126. Verkhovynets', Teoriia, pp. 98-99 and 130-32, Verkhovynets', Vesnianka, pp. 247-50; Dei, Tantsiuval'ni pisni, pp. 466-69; Humeniuk, Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi (1968), pp. 372-82; Humeniuk, Instrumental'na muzyka, pp. 281-82.

127. This dance is not found in Kolberg, Shukhevych, or Harasymchuk's documentations. Almost all variants of shevchyky recorded in other sources are documented from Central Ukraine.

128. See Belford, [n.p.]; Hinman, p. 53; Hall, p. 63; and Shambaugh, Boys and Girls, p. 39.

129. Shambaugh, Boys and Girls, p. 39. The dance is called Silesian, and identified as coming from Czechoslovakia.

8. Zhyd

130. Metro Radomsky, Russell Kulchisky, Alex Krytor.

131. The majority of Ukrainian dance names used in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain were feminine.

132. Both Metro Radomsky and Russell Kulchisky claimed to be able to play the zhyd though no melody was recorded during interviews. Russell Kulchisky hummed a descending melody when describing the first figure of this dance.

133. Metro Radomsky.

134. Similar concepts are common in North American culture, epitomized by the gesture "shining a moon" (baring one's buttocks).

135. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 252-53. The words srakun and zasranyi were edited out of the Soviet version of Harasymchuk's work but are found in his Polish Tańce huculskie, pp. 70-71.

136. See Shukhevych, p. 80; Harasymchuk, Tańce huculskie, pp. 110-12 and 167-69; Harasymchuk, "Melodie taneczne," p. 52; Kolberg, pp. 73-74; Humeniuk, Instrumental'na muzyka, pp. 466-67, and others.

9. Tsyhan

137. Metro Radomsky, George Hilliuk.

138. Metro Radomsky.

139. Since George Hilliuk came to Canada in 1929, it is also possible he remembered the dance from the old country and that it was never danced in Smoky Lake.

10. Strashok

140. See Burchenal, Folk Dances and Singing Games, pp. 73-76.

141. Roman Harasymchuk, "Boikivs'ki varianty rosiis'kykh, ches'kykh, pol's'kykh, uhors'kykh ta nimets'kykh tantsiv," in Materialy z etnohrafii ta mystetstvoznavstva, vypusk 7-8 (Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk, 1962), pp. 98-99. The dance was not mentioned by

Shukhevych, Kolberg, or Harasymchuk in "Rozvytok."

142. The figures of the dance and its name were remembered by Katharina Piwowar, who lived near Drohobych in Halychyna until the 1920s. She stated that the dance became popular among the generation slightly younger than she was. She was born in 1900.

143. Maria Nahachewsky. She did not remember the name of the dance, though it is assumed that it was the strashok because of the characteristic finger-waving.

144. Maria Nahachewsky.

145. Compare Burchenal, Folk Dances and Singing Games, pp. 73-76; Harasymchuk, "Boikivs'ki varianty," pp. 98-99 and 118, and Katharina Piwowar's description. The melody presented below is from Harasymchuk, p. 118.

146. No song text with that name seems to have been known in Ukraine.

11. Hanusia

147. Dmytro Kowch, John Tataryn, Nick Tataryn, Ostop Nahachewsky.

148. This fragment appears to be one half of the first stanza. Dmytro Kowch sang this text.

149. Dmytro Kowch.

150. No such song is published in Dei, Tantsiuval'ni pisni or in a number of folk song collections.

151. No dance called Hanusia is described in Harasymchuk, nor does it appear that any similar dance form was documented. The same is true of Kolberg, Shukhevych, and Mierczyński studies.

152. Tolman and Page, pp. 136-38.

153. Round dances were couple dances in which the partners held each other in the "polka position." Many round dance forms, including the Hopser (galop) predate the polka.

154. Shaw, p. 70.

155. Wolfram, p. 151.

156. As evidenced by the two accented quarter beats in the fourth measure.

12. Hora

157. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 485-92 and Harasymchuk "Melodie taneczne," pp. 48-50.

158. Nick Gelech. He lived in Toporivtsi until 1910.

159. Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," p. 86, Kolberg, p. 73.

160. John Babichuk, Metro Radomsky, Alex Krytor.

161. Metro Radomsky, Russell Kulchisky. Because of the fact that Nick Gelech was not familiar with the hora, it is not clear whether the dance was brought to Canada directly by the Bukovynians, or if the Smoky Lake Ukrainians learned it in only Canada from their Rumanian-Canadian neighbours. If the latter is true then this dance should be classified in Chapter V, below.

162. John Babichuk

163. Alex Krytor.

164. Metro Radomsky.

165. It was recorded by the John Zelizko Orchestra (DSF DS-2A) on 78 rpm phonograph disk prior to the end of the 1930s. See also Metro Radomsky and his Orchestra (DSLP 9), Russell Kulchisky also played the hora during his career.

166. This melody is found in Kolberg, p. 73.

167. Metro Radomsky. A basic hora step fitting this description is found in Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 486-87.

168. Such a second figure is described in Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 488-89.

13. Chardash

169. The alternate spelling is found on the early Easy Aces Five record (DSF DS-9B). The alternate pronounciation cheredash was used by John Babichuk.

170. John S. Weissman, "Csárdás," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed.

171. The dance was known in Boikivshchyna and the Lemko area (Harasymchuk, "Boikivs'ki varianty," p. 101), Zakarpattia, (Humeniuk, Instrumental'na muzyka, pp. 449-52 and 486), as well as parts of Bukovyna (Kolberg, p. 77).

172. Nick Gelech, June 26.

173. Metro Radomsky.

174. Russell Kulchisky, George Hilliuk, Metro Radomsky. Weissman, in his article "Csárdás," also associates the dance to Rumania to a degree.

175. Metro Radomsky, John Babichuk.

176. Metro Radomsky. Radomsky enjoys playing the chardash during dinner and at other times during wedding celebrations.

14. Keriak

177. John Babichuk. A dance of this name was recorded by the John Zelizko Orchestra (DSF DS-2B).

178. John Babichuk.

15. Shnel polka

179. Metro Radomsky.

180. Nick Nahachewsky.

181. Černušak and Lamb, "Polka," p. 43 and "Dance," Grove Dictionary of Music, 5th ed., p. 207.

182. Metro Radomsky. He noted that the shnel' pol'ka was danced by different crowds than those who knew the hora and chardash.

183. Nick Nahachewsky.

16. Hopping Polka

184. Bill Nahachewsky, Nick Tataryn, Mary Tataryn, John Tataryn.

185. This fact and the lack of a Ukrainian name for this variant of the polka suggests that it may have evolved or been imported after the immigrant generation came to Swan Plain. The informants insisted that this was a Ukrainian dance.

186. Bill Nahachewsky, Nick Tataryn, Mary Tataryn, John Tataryn.

187. The author of this study is acquainted with the "German polka" from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. The dance was reportedly popularized by soldiers returning from Europe after World War II. (This claim has not been investigated for confirmation) If the hopping polka was indeed such a recent import to Swan Plain, it should be reclassified to Chapter V, below.

17. Hory polka

188. Metro Radomsky, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk.

18. Kopanka

189. Maria Nahachewsky.

19. Sidanka

190. Maria Nahachewsky.

20. Sheepskin

191. Sophie Tataryn, John Tataryn, Mary Tataryn, Nick Tataryn.

192. John Tataryn claimed that he could still play a sheepskin dance, though none was recorded during the interview sessions.

B. Partner-Changing Dances

193. As for example in some variants of the hora. See Harasymchuk, "Rozvytok," pp. 490-91.

1. Broom Dance

194. Metro Radomsky, Sophie Tataryn, John Tataryn, Dmytro Kowch.

195. Nick Tataryn.

196. Metro Radomsky, Dmytro Kowch, Sophie Tataryn, John Tataryn.

197. This was remembered by Maria Nahachewsky. She did not remember clearly the name or features of the broom dance. It is possible that another type of partner changing dance also existed in Swan Plain.

198. Shambaugh, Boys and Girls, p. 33; Betty White, Dancing Made Easy, [n.p.], p. 272.

2. Holub

199. Metro Radomsky.

200. Ibid.

201. Shambaugh, Boys and Girls, p. 33.

CHAPTER V: DANCE FORMS LEARNED AFTER IMMIGRATION

The Ukrainians in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain enjoyed a variety of dance forms that they learned only after immigration to Canada. Some of these dance forms were from Avramenko's repertoire of Ukrainian national dances. Others reflected their Canadian setting and were the commonwealth of all the various peoples living in these two prairie settlements.

A. Avramenko Repertoire

After learning the dances taught by Vasyl' Avramenko during his dance courses which toured Canada, certain students were encouraged to spread this repertoire wherever possible. Avramenko presented his dances with the attitude that they were suitable both for the stage and for the dance floor.[1] Johnny Ostashek, Steve Pawliuk, and other young Ukrainian men travelled in the Smoky Lake area from 1927 for several years and taught dances from the Avramenko repertoire to adolescents living there.[2] Harry Tyzhuk engaged in similar activities around Swan Plain after 1930.[3]

The number of dances taught in the Avramenko movement was limited to approximately ten or twelve. Each of these was characterized by

specific music, a specific name, specific steps and choreography. These dances all contained approximately ten figures and therefore were the most complex dances that the people in Smoky Lake or Swan Plain had likely ever learned. In Smoky Lake, the "hopakóla,"[4] kolomyika, arkan, kateryna, kozachok podil's'kyi and possibly the "archanyk"[5] were danced as social dances by groups of young, nationally conscious Ukrainian Canadians at weddings and other dance events.[6] The "hopakola" and arkan and possibly kozachok and honyviter were performed in such contexts around Swan Plain.[7]

The local dancing teachers learned the Avramenko dances directly from the maister (dancemaster) himself or possibly from one of Avramenko's first assistants. They most likely knew the dances in forms very similar to those printed and published by Avramenko at that time.[8] They taught the dances as faithfully as possible to their original forms, though they may have had to simplify or omit some of the figures to accommodate their students in each specific training session or class. When a dance was taught and rehearsed by a teacher, the local students memorized the various figures and remembered them for the most part. This was also true in the period that they were preparing to perform a given dance on stage, and for a short period thereafter as well.[9]

The dances appealed to the students partially because of their patriotic character and partially because of the sensation of pride and

cohesion gained by executing a number of relatively difficult figures with a specific group of friends.

The dances never became stable social dances, however, and none lasted in the recreational dance repertoires of these settlements for more than a decade. Many in fact, were performed as social dances only rarely.[10] This was due, largely, to the complexity and relative difficulty of the dances themselves. While the original group of performers or fellow students remained intact, or while the instructor remained to reinforce the sequences, the dances likely remained relatively complete. Once the teacher left and once the original group split up, the dances began to fall apart. The deterioration was amplified if there were only a few performing opportunities a year, or less. This was the case if the musicians did not know the dance, and if any or all of the dancers forgot or altered a step. New dancers could and did sometimes fill in for departed group members though these had to learn from their less qualified peers or simply by observing the dances themselves.[11]

Though the Avramenko dances were short lived and were danced socially only by a relatively small segment of the population of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain, they did affect the repertoire of these areas. On the one hand, they reinforced old country dances such as the arkan and possibly the kolomyika. They facilitated their continuity to a second, younger generation of dancers. On the other hand, they may also have popularized the concept that Ukrainian dances were not for everyone. Anyone outside the trained group of dancers was unable to participate in this rather exclusive activity. These outsiders then, were more likely to perceive themselves as capable of (therefore interested in)

only the simpler popular and modern Canadian dances.

B. Canadian-Learned Social Dances

The Ukrainian immigrants to Smoky Lake and Swan Plain learned a few circle, quadrille-type, and partner changing-dances in Canada, though the majority of the forms learned here were couple dances.

1. Circle Dances

Canadian-learned circle dances played a very minor role in the dance repertoires of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain. The "chicken dance" or "bird dance" was apparently the only such form to become popular. It was introduced to these areas in the early 1980s.[12] The dance was sometimes called kurochka, the Ukrainian word for "little chicken."[13]

2. Trio Dances

Only one trio dance apparently entered into the repertoire of the Swan Plain and Smoky Lake Ukrainians since they settled here. The butterfly was similar to the verkhovyna and merged with or absorbed it.[14] The butterfly continues to be played at dances in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain in the 1980s, where it is popular for adding variety to the dances.[15] A butterfly dance was known in international folk dance circles, though the dance did not correspond with that known in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.[16]

3. Quadrille-Type Dances

North American quadrille-type dances were known in both Swan Plain and Smoky Lake as square dances. Square dances were popular and common among English-speaking settlers in Western Canada in the first several decades of this century. The Ukrainian immigrants, most often of the Canadian-born generation, learned the dances from their non-Ukrainian neighbours and classmates.[17]

Square dances never became extremely popular among the Ukrainians in Smoky Lake, though their English-speaking neighbours enjoyed them often.[18] In contrast, the Ukrainians in Swan Plain enjoyed square dancing, and performed the dances often at school dances, hall socials and barn dances into the 1950s.[19] Mike Nahachewsky served as a caller for square dances at local events in the Swan Plain area, though Peter Polowich or John Babiuk called out the figures at larger dances.[20] Local callers knew one or two "calls" (dances) each consisting of four or five figures. More skilled callers sometimes knew three or more different square dances, and thus developed a reputation and following over a wider area. Good square dancers, likewise, were familiar with a number of different figures that the caller might announce, whereas less experienced dancers would simply follow as well as they could.[21]

4. Couple Dances

By far the most common type of dance learned by the Ukrainians in

Smoky Lake and Swan Plain were mixed couple dances. These included the waltz, fox-trot, schottische, two-step, one-step, as well as less lasting dances such as the jive, shimmy, twist, tango, charleston, and others. "Rock-and-roll" dancing was also learned in more recent years.

The waltz evolved from early round dances in Germanic Europe in the second half of the 18th century. Popularized greatly by Viennese composers and dance bands in the 19th century, the waltz spread across the Western World. The waltz spread to England by 1812 and became common all over the English-speaking world. It has remained for nearly two centuries.[22] The waltz had not spread through all of rural Halychyna or Bukovyna before the First World War,[23] though it became known in most areas during the war or soon thereafter.[24]

The waltz was danced seldom by the immigrant generation in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain in the first years of settlement, though it became quite popular in the second decade of this century especially among the children of the immigrants.[25] The waltz has remained popular since that time and continues to rate with the polka as one of the most common dance forms.[26] Ukrainian folk songs in 3/4 time were commonly played and sung as waltzes.[27] "Chovnyk" and "Vziav by ia banduru" were two common melodies in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.[28]

The fox-trot was learned in Canada by the younger generation of dancers in the late teens and 1920s. The dance became very popular at that time.[29] In Swan Plain, the dance was introduced by a young labourer returning from work in an area of English-speaking Canadians. The dance was learned incorrectly by the community, however, and these people ended up relearning the fox-trot several years later when contacts with the dance increased.[30] The dance continues to be

played regularly in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.

The schottische originally evolved in Poland, and became a popular European and American ballroom dance after the middle of the 19th century.[31] Many variations of the schottische evolved and became popular at one time or another.[32] The dance was originally performed in closed (polka) position, though a variant in open position evolved in the 1890s in the west.[33] It was this variation that spread across Western Canada and into Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.[34] The dance was known in this area by the 1920s and continues to be performed here though its popularity has declined in much of North America.

The two-step was a very popular ballroom dance in North America in the 1890s,[35] and was popular among the Ukrainians of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain by the 1910s and 1920s.[36] At the peak of its popularity around the 1930s, the two-step was danced almost exclusively no matter what music was played.[37] The Ukrainian song "Chom chom" was a popular two-step melody in Smoky Lake.[38] The "Redwing" and "Golden Slippers" were Swan Plain favourites.[39]

The one-step was also danced in Smoky Lake and likely in Swan Plain. The dance was introduced into these areas after World War I.[40] This simple dance step was sometimes used as a resting step during a polka.[41]

A great number of other dances became fashionable for short periods throughout the twentieth century in North America. Many of these dances spread quickly into urban and rural areas, including Smoky Lake and Swan Plain. Dances such as the charleston, tango, jive, shimmy, twist, cha cha, and others were known and danced by individuals in these areas. People who liked these dances were generally younger and

unmarried people who had been in contact with the dances in Edmonton, Winnipeg, or some other major centre.[42] The dances, for the most part, did not have a lasting influence on the repertoire of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain.

Rock-and-roll dancing evolved in the 1960s from dances such as the twist and cha cha, though it differed in its greater freedom for improvization. This relatively unstructured dance form has become extremely popular with rock-and-roll music in recent decades among young dancers. Immigrant generation Ukrainians often look critically at this preferred dance form of their grandchildren and great-grandchildren.[43]

5. Partner-Changing and Other Specialty Dances

A number of partner changing dances were popularized at school dances, hall dances, barn dances, and other public social events. The dances were all relatively similar in concept, and served to encourage dancing with new partners. In a bingo dance, each dancer had to change partners when the word "Bingo!" was called out. A tag dance was similar to the broom dance[44] except that the cue for changing partners was a pat on the back by a single dancer.[45] Ladies' tag dances as well as mens' tag dances were organized.[46] Other special feature dances included the "spot dance," and the "number dance." In these dances a couple finishing on a predetermined spot, or dancers whose assigned numbers matched were rewarded with a prize.[47]

Aside from their European social dance heritage, then, the Ukrainians of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain learned a number of dance forms in Canada as well. The dance repertoire of Vasyl' Avramenko stands out because these forms were complex and entered the social dance context "in reverse" as it were, from their second existence. These dances, however, were shortlived in the social dance arena. A greater number of dances became a part of the communities' repertoires via the Canadian milieu in which they lived. These newer forms included circle dances, trio dances, square dances, and specialty dances, though the great majority were couple dance forms. Some of these forms faded from popularity as quickly as they arose, while others were more resilient. The most common forms in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain today are the polka, waltz, two-step, and rock-and-roll.

NOTES

CHAPTER V: DANCE FORMS LEARNED AFTER IMMIGRATION

A. Avramenko Repertoire

1. Avramenko made frequent remarks in his books noting that a particular dance could be done in a certain form na stseni (on stage) with certain permissible changes when done na sali (in a hall; i.e. on a dance floor) or na balevii sali (in a ballroom). See Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky, pp. 33 and 40. Avramenko spoke of his own dances as more virtuous alternatives to the unacceptable new social dances such as the charleston and shimmy.

2. Helen Kulka, John Babichuk. Our Legacy, pp. 700-01.

3. Bill Nahachewsky.

4. Hopak kolom was a popular dance taught by Avramenko. The name commonly distorted to "hopakola" and was pronounced similarly to the popular "coca-cola" in many areas. "Hopakola" was used by John Babichuk and Nick Tataryn. "Hop-a-cola" is printed on a record jacket The Weselowsky Family Presents Ukrainian Party Music, Nicole 6808.

5. "Archanyk" was likely a distortion of hrechanky, an Avramenko dance.

6. John Babichuk, Metro Radomsky, Helen Kulka, Alex Krytor.

7. Nick Tataryn, Bill Nahachewsky.

8. All the dances remembered by Smoky Lake and Swan Plain informants, hopak kolom, kolomyika, arkan, kateryna, kozachok podil's'kyi, hrechanyky, honyviter and zaporozhets' were published in Avramenko's Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky in 1928.

9. A hopak kolom dance was jotted on a copy of the script of "Sumkivtsi", a play taught apparently by Harry Tyzhuk in Swan Plain after 1941. The dance was apparently faithful to Avramenko's published version in most of the figures, though their order was changed significantly. Ivan Danyl'chuk, Sumkivtsi: Kartyna na dvi dii [SUMK Organization Members: A Play in Two Scenes] (Saskatoon: SUMK, 1941).

10. Metro Radomsky, Bill Nahachewsky, John Babichuk. Fifty years later, hardly any informants could remember the figures in any of the Avramenko dances. The arkan steps were the only exception.

11. Metro Radomsky.

B. Canadian-Learned Social Dances

1. Circle Dances

12. Fruzyna Gelech, Metro Radomsky, Nick Tataryn.

13. Fruzyna Gelech.

2. Trio Dances

14. This fusion of the butterfly and the verkhovyna causes some confusion as to the origin of the former dance. Some informants (Russell Kulchisky) were confident that the butterfly was a Ukrainian dance brought over during immigration, yet others (Metro Radomsky) insisted that it was introduced to the area only recently.

15. Metro Radomsky, Russell Kulchisky.

16. Mary Wood Hinman. Gymnastic and Folk Dancing: Volume II, Couple Dances (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1930), pp. 19-20.

3. Quadrille-Type Dances

17. Bill Nahachewsky, Maria Nahachewsky, Leon Kurytnik, Mary Kurytnik, Dmytro Kowch, Metro Radomsky, Fruzyna Gelech, Katharina Piwowar.

18. Alena Viteychuk, Joe Michalchuk.

19. Maria Nahachewsky, Bill Nahachewsky.

20. Bill Nahachewsky.

21. Dmytro Kowch, Bill Nahachewsky, Maria Nahachewsky.

4. Couple Dances

22. Andrew Lamb, "Waltz" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., pp. 200-05: Shaw, pp. 101-08.

23. The waltz is not mentioned by Kolberg, Shukhevych or Harasymchuk, in "Rozvytok" or Tance huculskie. In "Boikivs'ki varianty," however, Harasymchuk states that the waltz existed in the Boiko area since 1820s and became popular at the beginning of the 20th century, p. 102.

24. Katharina Piwowar and Rev. Volodymyr Iwaszko (unrecorded interview by Andriy Nahachewsky, summer of 1983) remembered the waltz in the Boryslav and Staryi Sambir areas before 1930.

25. Metro Radomsky, Joe Michalchuk, John Tataryn, Maria Nahachewsky.

26. Metro Radomsky, Russell Kulchisky. Waltzes were played for five of the eighteen dance sets at the Smoky Lake senior citizens' birthday party on July 12, 1984.

27. Harasymchuk, "Boikivs'ki varianty," p. 103, Andrii Humeniuk, "Khoreohrafichni ta muzychni osnovy tantsiuval'nykh pisen'," in Oleksa Dei, ed., Tantsiuval'ni pisni (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1970), pp. 57-59.

28. Bill Nahachewsky, John Tataryn.

29. Metro Radomsky, John Babichuk, Russell Kulchisky, Dmytro Kowch.

30. Dmytro Kowch.

31. Shaw, pp. 270-72; Tolman and Page, p. 139.

32. Elizabeth Burchenal, Folk Dances from Old Homelands, (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1922), pp. 39-40; Wakefield, Folk Dancing in America, pp. 82-83; Thompson, The Theory and Practice, pp. 31-34.

33. Shaw, p. 271.

34. Russell Kulchisky, Metro Radomsky, Fruzyna Gelech, Elizabeth Nickolaychuk, Alena Viteychuk, Bill Nahachewsky, Sophie Tataryn.

35. Shaw, pp. 299-302; Tolman and Page, p. 141.

36. Fruzyna Gelech, Alena Vitechuk, John Babichuk, George Hilliuk, Mary Tataryn, John Tataryn, Bill Nahachewsky, Dmytro Kowch.

37. George Hilliuk.

38. See By the Fireside with Radomsky's Orchestra, Heritage Records HR-35, side 2, cut 1.

39. Dmytro Kowch, Bill Nahachewsky, Nick Tataryn.

40. Metro Radomsky, John Babichuk, Alena Viteychuk.

41. It was performed in this way at the Smoky Lake senior citizens' birthday party on July 12, 1984.

42. Henia Martyniuk.

43. Dmytro Kowch, Fruzyna Gelech, John Babichuk, Maria Nahachewsky.

5. Partner-Changing and Other Specialty Dances

44. Metro Radomsky, Nick Tataryn. A bingo dance, ladies choce, was played by the Kulchisky band during a polka at the Smoky Lake senior citizens' birthday party on July 12, 1984.

45. Nick Tataryn, Sophie Tataryn, Bill Nahachewsky.

46. Nick Gelech.

47. Henia Martyniuk.

CONCLUSION

The social dance repertoire of Ukrainians in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain is rich and varied, totalling up to fifty dance forms. Thirty-four of these dance forms were brought to Canada by the immigrants, and constitute a strong and direct link with dance activity in Halychyna and Bukovyna at approximately the turn of the century. These dance forms included circle dances, men's dances, trio dances, quadrille-type dances, mixed couple dances and partner-changing forms. Approximately half of these dances (13 dances) in each area were the common heritage of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain, whereas another half (15 dances from Smoky Lake and nine dances in Swan Plain) were more regional and were apparently not known by dancers in the other area. These differences in repertoire may partly be ascribed to the fact that the Ukrainian population of Smoky Lake was primarily Bukovynian in origin whereas the Ukrainians of Swan Plain came mostly from Halychyna. Other factors which may have affected these statistics were an incomplete data base and/or differences in nomenclature. The respective repertoires of the two communities are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Pre-Immigration Dance Forms in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain

	Smoky Lake	Swan Plain
Circle Dances	kolomyika hutsulka toporivs'ka	kolomyika
Mens' Dances	arkan serban? kopirushka kozak	arkan serban? karaban shuba
Trio Dances	verkhovyna motylyk?	verkhovyna
Quadrille-Type Dances	 kreits pol'ka chovnyk pid haiem	dva holuby kreits pol'ka
Couple Dances	kozachok chaban sidemka polka heel-and-toe vasylykha shvets' zhyd tsyhan strashok hora chardash keriak shnel' pol'ka hory pol'ka?	kozachok chaban sidemka polka heel-and-toe strashok hanusia shnel' pol'ka hopping polka kopanka? sidanka? sheepskin
Partner-Changing Dances	broom dance	broom dance holub?

The social dance repertoires of Smoky Lake and Swan Plain demonstrated both continuity and change. Though certain old forms persisted thoughout the twentieth century until the present, others rose and fell from fashion very quickly. The repertoires of both areas were in a state of constant flux. The dances performed in various periods can be more or less categorized in terms of historical layerings. The oldest and most traditional forms were known in the Ukrainian territories for more than one generation and were generally considered Ukrainian dances by the generation of peasants who took it upon themselves to move to Canada. These dances included the kolomyika, hutsulka, toporivs'ka, arkan, serban, kozak, kopirushka, verkhovyna, dva holuby, chovnyk, pid haiem, kozachok, chaban, vasylykha, zhyd, tsyhan, kopanka, and sheepskin. A second layer of dances had spread into Western Ukraine in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. A few were learned en route to Canada. They were perceived as recent acquisitions by the generation of dances that left for Canada. These dances included the karaban, shuba, kreits pol'ka, sidemka, polka, heel-and-toe polka, shvets', strashok, hora, chardash, keriak, shnel' pol'ka, hopping polka, hory pol'ka, and the broom dance. The third layer of dance forms in the repertoires of these people were those social forms learned in Canada, including chicken dance, square dances, waltz, fox-trot, schottische, two-step, one-step, bingo dance, tag dance, number dance and spot dance. Ukrainian "national" dances comprised a fourth layer of dance forms, and included the hopakola, kolomyika, arkan, kateryna, kozachok podil's'kyi, archanyk, and honyviter. The

fifth and most recent layer of dances included modern dance forms such as rock-and-roll and some of its predecessors.

Table 2: Historical Layering of the Dance Forms

	Traditional Ukrainian Forms	Recent European Forms	Canadian Learned Forms	Ukrainian "National" Forms	Modern Forms
Circle Dances	kolomyika hutsulka toporivs'ka		chicken dance	hopakola kolomyika	
Men's Dances	arkan serban kopirushka kozak	karaban shuba		arkan	
Trio Dances	verkhovyna motylyk?				
Q'drille Type Dances	dva holuby chovnyk pid haiem	kreits p.	square dance	kateryna	
Couple Dances	kozachok chaban vasylykha zhyd tsyhan kopanka sheepskin	sidemka polka heel & toe shvets' strashok chardash keriak shnel' p. hopping p. hory p.	waltz fox-trot schottische two-step one-step		
Partner Changing Dances		broom dance	bingo dance tag dance number dance spot dance		
Modern Type					rock-and-roll others
Other				koz. pod. archanyk honyviter	

A comparison of the structural forms of the dances in each layer brings to light a major trend that has affected the social dance repertoire in Smoky Lake and Swan Plain. This trend is that of the disappearance of all structural forms in favour of mixed couple dances. These mixed couple dances, in turn, are giving way to the powerful instrusion of modern-type dances where the structural form is minimized and improvization is emphasized.

Whereas the oldest layer of dance forms included a wide variety of structural types, they were affected by the trend towards the couple dance in Western Ukraine and later in Canada. Since immigration to Canada, this process has been reinforced as almost all new forms are couple dances. Only occasional exceptions to this rule are found (chicken dance, square dance, butterfly), and such dances served primarily for contrast. The increase in the number of partner-changing and specialty dances also served as relief from the constant recurrence of couple dances. The Ukrainian national dances constituted an exception to this rule, though they were designed specifically as historical throwbacks. Their patriotic character overcame the trend towards couple dances for a short time, but they were hardly stable as social dance forms.

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